


T H E
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JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the
POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 181.

 *As we have in our Club a Debate upon every remarkable Question that happens in Parliament, we could not miss having a Debate upon the following Question which happened last Session, viz. Whether an humble Address should be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, first Commissioner for executing the Office of Treasurer of the Exchequer, Chancellor and under Treasurer of the Exchequer, and one of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, from his Majesty's Presence and Councils for ever. Upon which Question the Debate, which took up two Days, was opened by M. Agrippa, who spoke to the following Effect, viz.*

My Lords,

I HAVE a Motion to make to your Lordships, which, as a Friend to our present happy Establishment, as a Friend to his most gracious Ma-

jefty now upon the Throne, as a Friend to my Country, and as a Member of this House, I think I am in Duty bound to make; but as it is a Motion of an extraordinary, tho' not an unprecedented Nature, I must first beg Leave to shew you my Reasons for making it, and I hope to shew such Reasons as will induce every Lord of this House to think, that it is now absolutely necessary to comply with it.

My Lords, it is the Duty of Parliament, and especially of this House, to give our Sovereign our most sincere Advice, not only when it is ask'd, but often when it is not desired by the Crown. As Members of this House, we are in Duty bound to have a watchful Eye over the publick Measures his Majesty is advised to pursue, and over the chief Ministers he is pleased to employ in the Administration of publick Affairs; and when we are of Opinion, that the Measures he is advised to pursue are wrong, or that the Ministers he is pleased to employ are weak or wicked, it is our Duty and

our Business, while we sit here, to warn our Sovereign of his Danger, and to remove weak or wicked Counsellors from about his Throne. As to the Parliamentary Methods of removing a Minister, I need not acquaint your Lordships that they are of several Kinds, and that all but one tend to punish as well as remove. When we proceed by Impeachment, by Bill of Attainder, or by Bill of Pains and Penalties, the Design is to punish as well as remove; but there is another Way of Proceeding in Parliament, which tends only to remove the Minister from the King's Councils, without inflicting any real Punishment upon him, and that is, by an humble Address to our Sovereign, that he would be graciously pleased to remove such a one from his Councils.

I believe, my Lords, it will not be questioned, that either House of Parliament may offer such Advice to the Crown by Way of humble Address; I believe it will not be said, that it is unusual or unprecedented; and therefore, I shall not trouble your Lordships, with calling to your Remembrance, any of the Precedents that may be found in the Journals of Parliament. I shall only take Notice of the Difference between the Methods of Proceeding by Impeachment, by Bill of Attainder, or Bill of Pains and Penalties, and this Method of Proceeding by Way of humble Address to the Crown. When we proceed by Impeachment, by Bill of Attainder, or by Bill of Pains and Penalties, some particular criminal Facts must be alledged, and there must be some Sort of Proof of those Facts; but when we proceed by Way of Address to the King, that he would be graciously pleased to remove such a Minister from his Councils, a general View of that Minister's Conduct, a general View of publick Affairs, may afford just Cause for such an

Address, and common Fame is a sufficient Proof; for when no particular Fact is insisted on, it is impossible to bring any particular Proof. This, my Lords, is the Difference, and the Reason of this Difference is very plain. When a Man is to be punished either in his Person, his Freedom, or Estate, some Crime or criminal Neglect ought to be not only alledged, but proved by a legal Proof, or by strong Presumptions; but as his not being employed in the King's Councils neither affects his Person, his Freedom, nor his Estate, therefore Weakness alone, or a general bad Character, may be a good Cause for removing him. A weak Man is certainly in any Country very unfit for being in the King's Councils; and in a popular Government, a Man who has incurred the general Odium of the People, ought not to be continued in the King's Councils, because the Unpopularity of the Minister may at last affect the Throne itself, and render the People disaffected to their Sovereign.

I must therefore desire your Lordships to take particular Care to distinguish between the Method of Proceeding against a Minister by Impeachment, by Bill of Attainder, or Bill of Pains and Penalties, and the Method of Proceeding against a Minister by Address only; because if you do not take Care to fix this Distinction in your Minds, you may expect from me what I do not intend to give, and what the Nature of the Motion I am to make, renders it not only unnecessary, but unfit for me to give. I am to move only for an humble Address to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to remove a Minister, I may say, The Minister, from his Councils; and therefore, it is both unnecessary and unfit for me to charge that Minister with any particular Crime, or to acquaint your Lord-

Lordships that I have, and am ready to produce particular Proofs against him. If this were my Intention, I should think it below my Dignity, as a Member of this House, to content myself with moving for an humble Address; I should think it incumbent upon me directly to impeach, let the Consequence be what it would. Therefore your Lordships are not to expect that I am to accuse any Minister of a particular Crime, or that I am to tell you that I am ready to bring Proofs of what I alledge against him. If I can shew that the Affairs of *Europe* have been brought into the unlucky Situation in which they are at present, by the Conduct of this Nation; or if I can shew that the distressed Condition in which our People now are, is wholly owing to our own Conduct; either of these will be an Argument that must, that ought at least, to prevail with every Lord who is convinced, that this Minister has been the principal, if not the sole Adviser of that Conduct. If the People be generally dissatisfied with the late Conduct of our publick Affairs, and if that general Dissatisfaction be wholly directed against any one Man in the Administration, as our Government is still, I hope, a popular Government, it is a sufficient Cause for this House to let his Majesty know the Character of his Minister, by an Address to remove him from his Councils. If there be any one of his Majesty's Ministers that has usurped, or that even is generally thought to have usurped the sole Power of directing all publick Affairs, and recommending to all publick Posts, Honours and Employments, it is our Duty, at least, to address his Majesty to remove such a Minister, because such a one is inconsistent with the Constitution of our Government.

Upon this Question, my Lords,

it signifies nothing whether the general Character the Minister has gained, or the Misconduct he has been guilty of, has been owing to his Weakness, or his Wickedness; for either is a sufficient Cause for having him removed. But I must observe, that till he is removed, it cannot be made manifest by proper Proofs, whether his Misconduct, or his general bad Character, be owing to his Weakness or Wickedness; for artful Ministers always act by Tools and under Agents, who, whilst their Patron is in Power, will never reveal the flagitious Secrets committed by him to their Charge; but as such Men are seldom faithful any longer than it is their Interest to be so, remove the Minister once from the King's Councils, put it out of his Power to reward the wicked Fidelity of his Associates and Tools, and the secret History of his dirty Jobbs will then begin to unfold itself, and may be made manifest by a legal Proof. Suppose the King should be advised by a favourite Minister to keep up a constant Friendship and Alliance with the greatest Rivals and most inveterate Enemies of his Country, and that he should for this Purpose sacrifice the Interest, and forfeit the Friendship of its most natural Allies: Whilst the Minister is in Power, this may seem to proceed from his Weakness, or from his Ignorance of the true Interest of his Country; but remove him from the Person and Councils of his Sovereign, and then it may appear to have proceeded from his Wickedness: It may appear that he was corrupted by the Enemies of his Country, or that he knowingly and wickedly sacrificed the Interest of his Country to some private View of his own: If he employed any one in transacting or receiving the Bribe, if he ever was so free in Conversation with his Friends as to

unfold the Motives for his Misconduct, or the Reasons why he gave such wicked Advice to his Sovereign, some of them, either for Conscience or Interest, may be induced to discover the Secret, when it is safe for them to do so; but whilst he continues solely to enjoy the Ear of his Sovereign, it can never be any Man's Interest to accuse him, it will always be unsafe for a private Man to do so; because the Power of the Crown will be employed in blasting the Credit, or preventing the Effect of his Evidence; and probably in making the Punishment fall, not upon the guilty Minister, but upon the brave and honest Accuser. The Case of the Earl of *Bristol* in King *Charles* I's Time, may shew, how dangerous it is to accuse a favourite Minister whilst he is in the Zenith of his Power and Interest at Court. Nothing could be more just than the Accusation brought by that Earl against the Duke of *Buckingham*, yet it produced an Accusation of High Treason against that Earl, in which the King himself was the Accuser, and his Attorney General the Prosecutor. This was a most terrible Situation which that noble Earl was brought into by his Fidelity to his Country and his own Honour; and if the Power of the Crown had been in the same Condition it is now, notwithstanding the Heinousness of his Charge against the Minister, notwithstanding his full and well vouched Defence as to the Charge exhibited against him, he might, probably, have fallen a Sacrifice to the Resentment of that favourite Minister.

Thus, my Lords, from the Danger there is in accusing a Minister, from the Impossibility there is of finding any legal Proofs against him, whilst he continues in Power, we may see the Wisdom of our Constitution, that has contrived a Method

for removing him from the King's Councils, without subjecting any single Man to the Danger of ministerial Resentment, and without making it necessary to have any particular Proofs. According to this Method, and upon the Motion I am to make agreeable thereto, your Lordships are to form your Judgment from the Knowledge you have of our past Conduct, and the general View you have of the present Posture of our Affairs, both abroad and at home. I am sure, no Man can say, that either the foreign or domestick Affairs of this Nation are at present in a good Posture; and those who have for so long joined with me in blaming many of our publick Measures, and in foretelling what would be the Consequences of them, must, I think, join with me in imputing our present unlucky Situation entirely to our own Conduct, and consequently to those, or to the Minister that has had the chief Share in advising that Conduct. For this Reason, with regard to the Motion I am to make, I cannot doubt of having the Concurrence of all those, who have joined with me in condemning any of those Measures that have brought us into this Distress: Nay, I hope to have the Concurrence of many of those, who have joined in approving most of our late Measures; for tho' Lords may be induced to approve of a publick Measure at the Time it is transacted, either by the deceitful Light in which it is represented by an artful Minister, or by the false Gloss then put upon publick Affairs, yet when Time and Consequences clear up the Truth, they may condemn the Measure they were formerly induced to approve, and, of all others, they have then the greatest Reason to concur in addressing to remove a Minister, who has deceived them, as well as their Sovereign.

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With regard to such of your Lordships as have, by your Opinions in this House, condemn'd many of our late Measures, I should think it unnecessary to say any Thing farther, in favour of the Motion I am to make; but as there are many Lords in this House, who had not an Opportunity to consider, and give their Opinion upon past Measures, and as there are some, who approved most of them, in order to gain their Concurrence, I think it necessary, and, I hope your Lordships will give me Leave, to examine the Conduct of our publick Affairs for fifteen or sixteen Years past, in order to shew, that the present unlucky Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, and the present Distress of the People in this Nation, are both owing to our own Misconduct. The Maxims established ever since the Revolution, and the Maxims upon which both the late heavy Wars were founded, have been, to prevent the Increase of the Power of *France*, to support and increase the Power of the House of *Austria*, as a Balance to that of *France*, and to prevent, if possible, an Union between the Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*. That these were right Maxims for this Nation to pursue, must be acknowledged by the Friends of that Minister, whose Removal is to be the Question I am to put to your Lordships, because the chief Reasons for condemning the Treaty of *Utrecht*, which that Gentleman had a great Share in, was on Account of its leaving too much Power in the Crown of *France*, and one of the Branches of the House of *Bourbon* in Possession of the Monarchy of *Spain*; and the only Reason we had for concluding the Treaty in 1716, by which the Island of *Sicily* was given to the Emperor, and in which that Gentleman had likewise a great Share, was because the Treaty of *Utrecht* had not given a sufficient Power to

the House of *Austria* in *Italy*. This, I say, was our Motive for concluding that Treaty, which was perhaps the Foundation of all our Broils with *Spain* ever since that Time; and this Motive prevailed, tho' we had then no immediate Cause to be afraid of the Power of *France*, or of an Union or Confederacy between *France* and *Spain*; because by the late King of *France's* Death, and the Duke of *Orleans* getting the Government of that Monarchy into his Hands, the *French* Nation was divided into two powerful Factions, and a great Distrust established between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*.

Now, my Lords, if these Maxims are such as this Nation ought to pursue, or ought ever since that Time to have pursued; and if I can shew, that they have, every one of them, been departed from, and that the present untoward State of Affairs in *Europe*, as well as the present distressed Condition of this Nation, are both owing to this Departure, surely it must be allowed, that our Conduct has been directed by weak Counsels, or something worse. By the Regent's Death, and the Government of *France's* coming into the Hands of the Duke of *Bourbon*, a mutual Confidence seemed to be restor'd between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, and this ought to have put us upon contriving Methods to interrupt or diminish that Confidence; but so far from it, that we refused to take Advantage of the most favourable Accident that could happen for this Purpose. By the *French* Court's sending back the Infanta of *Spain*, this mutual Confidence was not only broke off, but an Enmity established between the two Courts, which might have been rendered perpetual and implacable, if we had made the proper Use of that Accident. The Court of *Spain* resented so highly the Affront, that they

they would no longer admit of *France* as a Mediator at the Congress of *Cambray*, for adjusting the Differences between them and the Emperor. They offered us the sole Mediation, and it was very much the Interest of this Nation to have those Differences adjusted in an amicable Manner, and to have a perfect good Correspondence restored, and the ancient Alliance revived, between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*; but I do not know how, a Maxim then began to prevail amongst our Ministers, that we ought not to do any Thing that might disoblige the Court of *France*; and I must observe, it was at that Time, a certain Hon. Gentleman began to have the Ascendant in all our Councils. For this Reason, we refused to accept of the sole Mediation offered us both by the Court of *Madrid* and that of *Vienna*, or to interfere between them, without the Assistance of the Court of *France*.

Thus, my Lords, we neglected the best Opportunity that could have offered, for establishing the System of Affairs in *Europe*, upon that Footing which is the most happy for this Nation; but Providence atoned for this Neglect, and would have done it for us, if we had not, by a most unaccountable Fatality, counter-acted this new Interposition of Providence. The Court of *Spain* was so much irritated against *France*, that they resolved at any Rate to be reconciled with the Court of *Vienna*, and when they found they could get no Mediators, these two Courts began a Correspondence between themselves, which ended in a Treaty of Peace concluded at *Vienna* the 30th of *April*, 1725, and a Treaty of Alliance and Guaranty concluded the next Day at the same Place. This, my Lords, was the very Thing we ought to have wished for, the very Thing *France* had to fear. It was the Interest of Bri-

tain to accede to this Alliance, and we were invited to do so: It was the Interest of *France* to break this Alliance, to prevent our acceding to it, and to reconcile themselves with the Court of *Spain*, if possible. A These Ends they accomplished; but what is most surprizing, they not only prevented our Accession to this Alliance, but they made us their Instrument for reconciling themselves to the Court of *Spain*, and for creating a new Difference between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*. B For this Purpose, they made us believe, that a secret Treaty had been concluded between *Spain* and the Emperor, by which these two Powers had agreed to set the Pretender upon the Throne of these Kingdoms, to take *Gibraltar* from us, and to destroy our Trade both in *Spain* and the *Indies*.

I say, my Lords, the *French* made us believe this; for I am thoroughly convinced, it was all a Forgery; and, I am convinced, the Forgery was first contrived in *France*. D But suppose the Fact had been true: Was it in the Power of the Emperor and *Spain* to carry any of these Stipulations into Execution? Was it in the Power of both joined together to hurt this Nation either in its E Trade or Possessions? What then ought we to have done? We ought to have despised it; and when these two Powers had found that they had been misguided by some of their Ministers, and advised to concert Schemes, which both joined F together could never put in Execution, they would have been glad to reconcile themselves to this Nation at the Expence of those who had put them upon forming such chimerical Projects. We had not, therefore, the least Occasion to seek for G Allies, in order to defend us against these two Powers, or to attack either of them, unless they had attacked us. But this would not have answered

answered the Ends of the *French* Court, and therefore, by Means of this Bugbear they prevailed on us to join in an Alliance with them by that most fatal Treaty of *Hanover*. Still, this was not enough: The political Court of *France* saw, that the Emperor was a proper Ally for defending *Spain* against an Attack from them, but a very improper and useless Ally for defending *Spain* against an Attack from us. For this Purpose they knew, that they only were a proper Ally for *Spain*, and in order to convince the *Spanish* Court of this, it became necessary to prevail with us, to make some Sort of an Attack upon *Spain*. How to do this, one would think, might have appeared a little difficult even for the Court of *France*. The Treaty of *Hanover*, bad as it was, was only a defensive Treaty: We were not thereby obliged to begin the Attack. What was then to be done?

My Lords, the Consequence is really amazing: They persuaded us, that the Emperor and *Spain* were certainly to begin the War, as soon as the latter got their Treasure home from the *West-Indies*, and that therefore it was necessary to send out one Squadron to prevent the *Spaniards* from making an Invasion upon us, and another to prevent their getting their Treasure home from the *West-Indies*. As the *French* have Ships of War as well as we have, it was natural for us to desire the *French* to join with us in these Expeditions; but as they had a Mind to make us quarrel with *Spain*, without their having any Hand in the Quarrel, they got us to take the Whole of the naval Expedition upon ourselves, under Pretence that they were to make Preparations by Land; and accordingly we sent, at a great Expence, two powerful Squadrons to Sea, one to the Coasts of *Spain*, and another to the *West-Indies*, which the *Spaniards* looked on as a real Attack,

and immediately began Hostilities against us. However, as the *French* had no Mind that we should hurt *Spain*, or get any Advantage to ourselves, both our Squadrons had Orders not to make any real Attack upon *Spain*; nay, even after the *Spaniards* had begun Hostilities against us, and actually besieged our Town of *Gibraltar*, our good Allies the *French* would neither assist us, nor allow us to commit any Hostilities against the *Spaniards*.

B Our Squadrons, my Lords, were only to prevent an Invasion which, I am sure, was never intended, and by obstructing the Arrival of the *Spanish* Treasure, to prevent a War which, I am confident, was never designed. By this Means, however, C the *French* accomplished what they had in View. The Court of *Spain* was in great Distress for Want of their Treasure, and they saw themselves unable to hurt us. By this they were convinced, that it was absolutely necessary for them to be reconciled with the Court of *France*, D in order to prevent their being thus insulted by us; and this prevailed on them to forgive an Affront which otherwise they never, perhaps, would have forgiven. As soon as this was done, the *French* became Mediators E for reconciling the Differences between *Spain* and us, which they themselves had raised; but this was not out of any Good-Will to us: It was to lead us into another Snare, by making us joint Instruments with them in causing a new Difference F between *Spain* and the Emperor. By the Quadruple Alliance it had been provided, that 6000 *Swiss* or neutral Troops should be introduced into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, in order to secure the eventual Succession of those G Duchies to the Queen of *Spain*'s eldest Son. This the Emperor had agreed to, and the Queen of *Spain* was satisfied with; but after the *French*

French had by our Means, as I have shewn, fully reconciled themselves to the Court of *Spain*, and had become Mediators between that Court and us, they persuaded her Catholick Majesty to insist, in her Negotiations with us, that instead of neutral Troops, 6000 *Spanish* Troops should be introduced into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*. As this was an Article we had nothing to do with, as it was an Article which, we knew, the Emperor would not willingly agree to, and consequently would raise a Difference between him and *Spain*, it is surprizing, we should allow it to be mentioned in any Negotiation between *Spain* and us; yet so prevalent was the Influence of the *French* upon our Minister, that he not only allowed it to be mentioned in the Negotiation, but agreed to its being made an express Article in the Treaty of *Seville*; and for the Performance of this Article, we became Sureties jointly with *France*; that is, my Lords, we engaged to join with *France* and *Spain* in a War against the Emperor; and this we did without any Sort of Necessity, without obtaining any one Advantage for ourselves.

The Emperor foresaw the Danger of admitting *Spanish* Troops into those Places, nay, it was foretold in this House when that Treaty was under our Consideration; and for this Reason the Emperor would by no Means consent to it, unless we should become Guarantees of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, without any Condition or Restriction. This we were obliged to agree to, in order to get out of the Labyrinth we had led ourselves into, and a Treaty for this Purpose was concluded between the Emperor and us at *Vienna* in the Year 1731, without stipulating any one Advantage for this Nation, or so much as a Tariff or Treaty of Commerce between this Kingdom

and the Emperor's Dominions in *Italy* and *Flanders*, tho' our Trade to both these Places wanted much to be regulated, and the latter has since furnished our Minister with a Pretence to pension some of his Friends, under the Title of Commissaries to settle that Tariff. This Treaty at *Vienna*, however, I shall not find Fault with: The greatest Fault was, its being delayed too long: If we made it with a Design to perform it, I shall allow, it was a right Measure; but by what happened soon after, I suspect, that some amongst us had no Intention to perform this Guaranty, even at the very Time it was agreed to; and for justifying my Suspicion in this Respect, I must turn to the other Side of *Europe*. At the very Time we concluded this Treaty of *Vienna*, *Augustus* the late King of *Poland* was in a bad State of Health, and the Nobility of *Poland*, as well as the neighbouring Powers, were beginning to think of a new Election. Every one foresaw, that the Contest would lie between the Electoral Prince of *Saxony*, Son of the then King of *Poland*, and *Stanislaus*, Father-in-Law to the King of *France*; and if we were serious in our guaranty of the *Pragmatick Sanction*, it was easy to see which Side we ought to take in this Contest. It was easy to see, that it was our Interest to oppose, as much as was consistent with the Liberties of *Poland*, the Election of *Stanislaus*. Whether we did so or not, does not yet appear, for the Parliament was denied the Liberty of seeing any Papers or Instructions relating to that Affair; but if Credit is to be given to common Fame, we shewed great Regard to the Court of *France* in this Particular, as well as every other. Nevertheless, the Court of *Vienna* did their Duty: They made all the Interest they could against the Election of *Stanislaus*, without

incroaching

encroaching in the least upon the Liberties of Poland. The Muscovites, indeed, went a little farther, because the Republick of Poland was obliged by Treaty with them, never to chuse *Stanislaus*, and therefore they opposed his Election by Force of Arms. This gave a Pretence to France, in Conjunction with Spain and Sardinia, to attack the Emperor in the Year 1733. Our joining the Emperor in this War would, in all human Probability, have entirely cast the Balance, and by the Event, we might have repaired all the Faults and Oversights that were committed in the Negotiations and Treaty at *Utrecht*; but we remained idle Spectators, and by this our Inaction, the Power of the House of *Austria* was diminished, the Power of *France* increased, and the whole System of *Europe* turned upside down; which to me is an evident Proof, that those who had the Direction of our Councils, had no Intention to perform the Stipulations they entered into by the Treaty at *Vienna* in 1731; and if they had not, it was a downright betraying of the Emperor: It was, by a treacherous Promise, never intended to be performed, leading him in to consent to the introducing of Troops into *Italy*, which, he was sure, would be employed against him the very first Opportunity, as they accordingly were within two Years after. What Dishonour this brought upon the Nation, what Distrust it begot among those who are our natural Allies, what Injury it did to that System of Affairs in *Europe* which it was the Interest of this Nation to support, I need not explain to your Lordships.

That this System is now almost entirely overthrown, is evident to every one who considers the present Circumstances of *Europe*; and that this Overthrow is owing entirely to our Conduct, I have, I think, de-

monstrated. My Lords, it is owing to our having been in French Leading-Strings, ever since a certain Hon. Gentleman began to have the Ascendant in all our Councils, and in the Conduct of our publick Affairs. If by this Conduct, if by sacrificing our Allies, and re-uniting the two Branches of the House of *Bourbon*, we had got great Advantages for ourselves, it would be some Excuse for this unaccountable Conduct; but so far otherwise, my Lords, that during this whole Period, and notwithstanding the many signal Services we have lately done to the House of *Bourbon*, we have been sacrificing our Trade and Navigation to the Manufacturers of *France*, and the Pyrates of *Spain*. The *French* have, during this whole Time, been improving their Trade and their Manufactures at the Expence of ours, and the *Spaniards* have been plundering our Merchants, and interrupting our Navigation, under the most unjust and ridiculous Pretences, both in the *American* and *Mediterranean* Seas; without our stipulating any Thing in Favour of our Trade, or Manufactures from the former, and without our obliging the latter to acknowledge our just Rights, disavow their unjust Claims, or make Satisfaction to our injured Merchants and Seamen, notwithstanding the many Acts Preliminaries, Conventions, and other Sorts of Treaties, we have concluded with these two Powers, and the great Expence we have put ourselves to, solely for their Service.

In short, my Lords, upon a general View of our Conduct with regard to foreign Affairs, it appears so unaccountable, and the Consequences now shew it to have been so destructive, that it is hardly possible to think it altogether owing to Weakness; and if the Truth were known, which never can as long

as the same Ministers continue in Power, and have the Disposal of all publick Honours and Favours, something worse than Weakness, might, perhaps, be made appear by legal Proofs. This, however, I shall not ever nor insist on; but to doubt of the Weakness of this Conduct, or to desire that this Weakness should be made appear by legal Proofs, is the same with doubting or desiring Proofs of the Parts being equal to the Whole, or of the Sun's shining when our Eyes are dazzled with his Beams. Let us now examine what Effect this Conduct has had upon our domestick Affairs. If we had made the proper Use of those providential Accidents that occurred, for establishing a good Correspondence between the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, and of course a Sort of Distrust between the Courts of *France* and *Spain*, if we had not defeated the Effect of those Accidents by our following the Counsels of *France*, 'tis more than probable, I think it is certain, that we should have had no Occasion to keep up dangerous Armies, or fit out expensive Squadrons. Ten or twelve Thousand regular Troops, and a few Guard-Ships, as a Security against any sudden Attack, would have been the most we should have had Occasion for; and this Expence, the *Malt Tax* and the *Land Tax* at 2s. in the Pound would have been sufficient to answer. If we had reduced the publick Expence within these Bounds, we should have been able to pay off a great Part of our old Debt, without contracting any new, and might have abolished a great many of those Taxes which lie heavy upon poor Labourers and Manufacturers, and which, consequently, inhanse the Price, and thereby prevent the Sale of our Manufactures at all foreign Markets. As *Spain* would have had a continual Dependence upon, and a close Correspondence

with this Nation, they would not have attempted to make such Incroachments upon us as they have done; for we may observe, that their Insults and Incroachments upon us, have always borne a Proportion to the Correspondence subsisting between them and *France*: Our *South-Sea Company* would have met with no Interruption in their Trade to *New Spain*; nor would the Sale of our Manufactures have been interrupted and discouraged, as they have been, both in *New* and *Old Spain*. And the certain Consequence of all this would have been, an utter Impossibility for *France* to improve or increase her Manufactures, especially those of Wool; which would have been a more effectual Stop to the clandestine Exportation of our Wool, than any other Method we can contrive; for if we could work up woollen Manufactures as cheap as they can do in *France*, we could sell them cheaper at all Markets, because we have the Wool cheaper, which would prevent the Sale of their Manufactures at any foreign Market, nay, even in their own Markets at last, by the clandestine running of ours in upon them; and if they could sell no woollen Manufactures, they would neither be at the Pains nor Expence to steal our Wool away from us.

All these Consequences, my Lords, the Court of *France* were fully sensible of, and therefore they made it their Business to re-unite themselves as soon as possible with the Court of *Spain*, to create Breaches between *Spain* and us, and between *Spain* and the Emperor, and to make us put ourselves to an extraordinary Expence upon every Occasion. All this they have, fatally for us, succeeded in; but it is very surprizing, that in every Step they should have been able to make us their Tools for our own Undoing. After our being drawn in to the Treaty of *Hanover*,

Hanover, as I have mentioned, we immediately put ourselves to the Expence of augmenting our Army, which was before too numerous; of taking foreign Troops, and foreign Princes, into our Pay; and of fitting out costly, but useless Squadrons. When *Don Carlos* was to be sent to *Italy*, we put ourselves to the Expence of sending a powerful Squadron to the *Mediterranean*, to pay that Prince the Compliment of conducting him in Triumph thither. When the Emperor was attack'd in 1733, tho' we took no Share in the War, we took Care to have a Share in the Expence, by making great warlike Preparations. In short, for these 15 or 16 Years past, we have mis'd no Pretence for putting ourselves to an extraordinary Charge, as if we had thought, that the worst Thing we could do, was to pay off our Debts, or ease our People of their Taxes: When any of our Neighbours came to an Agreement, we were to raise Armies, and fit out Squadrons, in order to make them fall out; when any of our Neighbours fell out, we were to raise Armies, and fit out Squadrons, in order to make them agree; When we were engaged in Negotiations, we were to keep Armies and Squadrons in Pay, in order to render those Negotiations effectual: When our Negotiations ended in a Treaty, we were to keep Armies and Squadrons in Pay, for enforcing the Performance or Observance of that Treaty; and when no other Pretence could be found, when the Tranquillity of *Europe* seemed to be perfectly established, we were to keep Armies on foot, because when our Neighbours had no Quarrel amongst themselves, they had the more Leisure to think of invading us.

This, my Lords, has been our Conduct with respect to domestick Affairs, and the Consequence is, that

our publick Debts are now very near as great as they were at the End of the last heavy War: If we have paid off with one Hand, we have contracted near as much with the other; and no one Tax that was imposed during the War, has either been taken off, suspended, or diminished, except one Moiety of the *Land Tax*, and the *Salt Tax* for one Year. It is this, my Lords, that has given the *French* such an Advantage over us with regard to Trade and Manufactures. It is this that keeps the Interest of Money at a higher Rate, and private Credit at a lower Ebb in this Country, than in any trading Country in *Europe*; and it is this that has rendered our People generally discontented, which Discontents have been very much heightened by the severe and oppressive Laws that have been enacted, and the more oppressive Schemes that have been attempted, under Pretence of their being necessary for collecting the publick Revenue. The *Excise Scheme* alone was Cause sufficient for all the Discontents that have since appeared: It was such an Attempt upon our Liberties as could not but give a general Alarm to a free Nation; and it was resented accordingly by the People. We may remember how the Author of it was treated at most of the Cities and Boroughs in the Kingdom. Whether that Attempt proceeded from Weakness or Wickedness, I shall not determine; but the Minister that patronized it ought immediately to have been removed from his Majesty's Councils, in order to shew the People that his Majesty no Way favoured such a barefaced Attempt upon their Liberties; and if none about his Majesty has yet advised him to remove such an unpopular, such a hated Minister, we ought to supply that Deficiency. Your Lordships in this House are his Majesty's great and

chief Council, and therefore, when you find that his other Councils have neglected to give him proper Advice, it is your Duty, it is your Business, when assembled here, to supply that Neglect. A sole Prime Minister may be able to prevent the Truth's reaching the Ears of his Master, by Means of any of those he suffers to have free Access to his Person; but, I hope, no Minister will ever be able to intimidate your Lordships, or prevent your speaking decently, freely, honestly and sincerely to your Sovereign.

If in a free State, no unpopular Minister ought to be allowed to continue in the King's Councils, or about his Person, I am sure the Motion I am to make, ought to have been the Resolution of this House, the very next Session after the *Excise Scheme* was rejected; but your Lordships were willing, perhaps, to indulge the Patron of that Scheme, with an Opportunity of regaining the good Will of the People by his future Conduct. Has he done so, my Lords? Has he not, almost in every Step of his Conduct since that Time, riveted himself in the Hatred of the People, I mean those who are not immediately in his Pay, or in Expectation of soon being so? It would be too tedious, my Lords, to mention all the weak and unpopular Parts of his Conduct since that Time, and therefore I shall confine myself to our late Management with regard to *Spain*. I have already shewn the Weakness of the Treaty of *Seville*, with regard to the Breach it occasioned between *Spain* and the *Emperor*; but that was far from being the only one. The *Spaniards* had before then set up their Pretence to a Right of searching our Ships in the *American Seas*, and confiscating Ship and Cargo, if they found any Goods on board which they were pleased to call contraband. In pursuance of

this Right, they had confiscated several of our Merchant Ships, after Peace was restored between the two Nations by the Convention, signed at the *Pardo*, March 6, 1728. Our Merchants, after having applied in vain to our Minister, made their Application to Parliament in 1728, and plainly pointed out to him, what we ought to insist on from *Spain*, yet all he desired, or at least obtained by the Treaty of *Seville*, was a Renewal of former Treaties, tho' he knew, that under the Colour of those Treaties, the *Spaniards* had set up this very Right; and with regard to the Depredations that had been committed, he contented himself with stipulating to have them referred to Commissaries of each Side, who were to assemble at the Court of *Spain*, and had three Years to make their Report; by which our Minister got an Opportunity of obliging some of his Friends with Pensions, and the *Spaniards* got an Opportunity not only of continuing their Depredations, but of robbing us of that Money which our Commissaries, their Clerks and Servants, were obliged to spend in the Dominions of *Spain*.

These Oversights, my Lords, might, perhaps, have proceeded from Weakness; but it is impossible to suppose, that what followed could proceed from Weakness alone. The *Spaniards* continued their Depredations with as much Vigour as ever, and thereby shewed the Meaning they put upon those Treaties that had been renewed by the Treaty of *Seville*: And they made such trifling Work with our Commissaries, that before the Year 1733, every one saw we could expect no Reparation for what was passed, nor Security in Time to come, but by Force of Arms. The Right we had to a free Navigation in the *American Seas*, and the Right we had to carry what Goods we pleased from

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one Part of our own Dominions to another, was a Point that could admit of no Discussion: It was a plain simple Question we were to put to the *Spanish* Court, Will you admit of this Right or no? If they denied it, if they shuffled, the immediate Consequence should have been a Declaration of War. They did not shuffle: They in a Manner expressly denied it: They not only insisted upon, but exercised the Right they had set up, to search every *British* Ship they met with in the *American* Seas, and to seize and confiscate Ship and Cargo, if they found on board any of those Goods they were pleased to call contraband. This was the State of Affairs between the two Nations when the *Spaniards* attack'd the Emperor in *Italy*. Ought we not, for our own Sake alone, to have laid hold of that Opportunity for declaring War against *Spain*? On the contrary, we continued to negotiate about a Point which could admit of no Negotiation; and tho' it was evident, that if we allowed the *French* and *Spaniards* to prescribe Terms to our old Ally the Emperor, it might very probably be in their Power afterwards to prescribe Terms to us, yet we let slip this Opportunity; we continued to suffer patiently the Insults and Injuries that were put upon us by the *Spaniards*: We continued to negotiate, and by so doing gave up the Point in Question. Nay, my Lords, the very Papers upon our Table shew, that either our Minister and those he employed did not understand the Point in Question, notwithstanding the clear Light it had been put in by the repeated Application of our Merchants; for after having seen how little Care had been taken of them in the Treaty of *Seville*, they had applied again to Parliament in the Year 1730. I say, my Lords, the Papers upon our Table shew, that ei-

ther our Minister and his under Agents did not understand the Point in Question, or wickedly gave it up; for when they complain to the *Spanish* Court, as they do in some of their Memorials, of the *Spaniards* carrying clandestinely some Pieces of *Eight* on board our Merchant Ships, and then seizing them for having such Goods on board, they admit, that if those Goods had been found on board, without having been first clandestinely carried there, it would have been a just Cause of Seizure.

But, my Lords, this of giving up the Right of this Nation, and of Mankind, by Negotiation, was not enough for our Minister; he was resolved to give it up by Treaty, which leads me to consider our late Convention with *Spain*. By our continuing to negotiate, and to suffer, the *Spaniards* grew at last so insolent and rapacious, that our Merchants were forced to apply a third Time to Parliament in the Year 1738, and the Resolutions of both Houses thereupon were so strong, that our Minister found, something must be done: A new Treaty must be obtained, or a War must be declared. Upon this, what did he do? He put the Nation to a great Expence: He amused the People with warlike Preparations; but this was not done, as appeared afterwards, to obtain Reparation; or to force the *Spaniards* to acknowledge our undoubted Rights, or disavow the Claims they had so unjustly set up. It was done with a View only to obtain a new Treaty; and after he had negotiated a whole Summer, at the Expence of 4 or 500,000*l.* extraordinary to the Nation, he by Treaty accepted of 27,000*l.* I can call it no more, in full Satisfaction for all past Depredations, Damages and Insults; and what was still worse, he expressly gave up the Freedom of our Navigation in the *American* Seas, by referring it to be regulated by Pleni-

Plenipotentiaries. This, I insist, my Lords, was expressly giving it up; for what could our Plenipotentiaries say to the *Spaniards* upon this Subject? They could not say, We will admit of no Regulations in a Case which is expressly referred to us to be regulated; and if they had admitted or agreed to any Regulations, our Navigation could no longer have been called free.

Upon this, my Lords, upon the first View of this Convention, the Spirit of this Nation began to appear, and to exert itself in such a Manner, as convinced our Minister that even he, notwithstanding his unparalleled Power, durst no longer venture to trifle with the Honour, the Trade, the Navigation, and the Rights of his Country. Thus, by his own Misconduct, and by that alone, he saw himself reduced to the Necessity of coming to an open Rupture with *Spain*, at a Time when the Affairs of *Europe* were in the most unhappy Situation for this Kingdom. *Spain* at that Time in a close Alliance with *France*: The Power of the House of *Austria* very much diminished by the late War, and by his Conduct brought under a Sort of Dependence upon the Court of *France*: The *Dutch* not at all inclined to join with us in any warlike Schemes; and the Kingdom of *Sweden* entirely governed by *French* Counsels. In these Circumstances it was evident, that we must either submit to carry on the War against *Spain*, according to *French* Directions, in which Case we could never expect to meet with Success, or to bring it to a Conclusion; or we must resolve to support a War by ourselves alone, against the two powerful Kingdoms of *France* and *Spain*. In this unfortunate Dilemma it was easy to chuse; but from what has since happened, I fear our Minister has chosen the worst Side of this Dilemma. Our

Business certainly was to resolve to prosecute the War with Vigour, even tho' *France* should threaten to join against us; and therefore we ought to have been as expeditious as possible, both in our Preparations and Attack; in order that we might have possessed ourselves of some of the most convenient Parts of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*, or the Whole, if we could, before *Spain* could prepare for her Defence, or *France* prepare to assist her. I do not say, my Lords, that we ought to have possessed ourselves of the whole *Spanish West-Indies* with a Design to hold them, but only with a View to force *Spain* to a Compliance, or to enable ourselves to support the War, in Case *France* should resolve to support the *Spaniards* against the just Demands we had upon them.

Now, my Lords, let us see if the warlike Conduct of our Minister has been better and more prudent than his peaceable. Tho' he saw that an immediate War was become unavoidable, as soon as the Convention was published in this Nation: I say an immediate War; for tho' the *Spaniards* had paid the 95,000*l.* yet if they had not expressly and immediately given up the Point of Search, it would have been absolutely necessary for us to declare War against them; and this our Minister knew they would not do by fair Means, therefore he must have been sensible, that an immediate War was unavoidable; yet he did not, for four Months after, make the least Preparation for beginning it; and when it was begun, it was by Way of Reprisals only; by which Method we could never propose to bring the *Spaniards* to a Compliance, and it was giving them Warning to provide against us, in those Places where it was most our Advantage to attack them. When I say attack them, I believe

believe every one of your Lordships will suppose, I mean the *West-Indies*. It was there, my Lords, where we could make the *Spaniards* most sensible of our Power: It was there they were least prepared to resist us: It was there we could do them the greatest Mischief; and it was there only we could attack them with any considerable Advantage to ourselves. For this Reason we should have begun the War, we should have begun Hostilities by an Attack, not upon their Ships, but upon some of their Settlements in that Part of the World; and for this Purpose we might have had a Fleet, with 5 or 6000 regular Troops on board, ready to sail for the *West-Indies*, before we published our Reprisals, and that without giving the *Spaniards* any previous Alarm. Admiral *Vernon's* Success at *Porto Bello* is an evident Proof of what Success we might have had, if that Admiral had been properly provided for taking and holding as many of the *Spanish* Settlements in *America*, as he could conquer. We should soon have been Masters of *Porto Bell* and *Panama*, which would have laid both *Mexico* and *Peru* open to our Attacks; and by sending that Admiral proper Supplies, which neither the *Spaniards* nor even the *French* could prevent, we might by this Time have been in Possession of all the Mines of *Peru*, which would have compelled the Enemy to submit to our Terms, or it would have enabled us to support and carry on the War at the Expence of our Enemies, and without loading our own People with any new Debts or Taxes.

But instead of this, my Lords, what have we done! Nothing that can be of any great Advantage to ourselves, or Prejudice to the Enemy. No Troops were ever sent to the *West-Indies* till the End of *October* last, which was above a Year

after the Declaration of War, and near 16 Months after the *Spaniards* had Notice to prepare for their Defence in that Part of the World. Nay, by such of Admiral *Vernon's* Letters as we have been indulged with the Sight of, it appears that, notwithstanding the notable Services he had done to his Country, notwithstanding his repeated Requests, no Care was taken to send him proper Stores or Provisions, for enabling him to proceed in his Designs against the Enemy. By this Neglect it would really seem, as if our Minister were afraid, lest that brave Admiral should too much distress the Enemies of his Country; and for this I can assign no Reason, unless it be, that our Minister has laid himself under Engagements to a certain foreign Minister, not to distress the *Spaniards* more than he shall give him Leave to do. It would be endless, my Lords, to explain all the Weaknesses we have been guilty of since the Beginning of the War: Our suffering the *Spanish* Squadron to sail from *Cadiz*, after having blocked it up so long at that Port: Our suffering it afterwards to sail from *Ferrol*: Our suffering that Squadron, and both the *French* Squadrons to sail so long before we sent any Squadron to the Relief of Admiral *Vernon*, and our Colonies in the *West-Indies*: Our leaving a Squadron quite inactive in the *Mediterranean*: Our distressing our Trade by Pressing and Embargoes, and at the same Time neglecting to offer any Reward for Landmen to enter into his Majesty's Sea-Service, or a sufficient Reward even for Seamen; and above all, our neglecting to have in Readiness, or to fit out, a sufficient Number of small Cruisers at the Beginning of the War, for the Protection of our Trade, by intercepting the Enemy's Privateers.

My Lords, the Errors in our Negotiations

negotiations before the War were so enormous, the Faults in our Conduct since the War began have been so many and so glaring, that it is almost impossible for me to impute it to Weakness alone. I must suspect, that our Minister's making himself such an obedient Slave to the Views of *France*, when they were so contrary to the Interest of his Country; and his Unwillingness to enter into a War with *Spain*, when he had so many Provocations, and so fair an Opportunity for prosecuting it with Success: I say, I must suppose, that this unaccountable Conduct proceeded from some private Motives of his own. These Motives I have not discovered: They cannot be discovered whilst he continues Minister: If I had discovered them, and could prove them to your Lordships, my Motion this Day should not be for an Address to remove him: I should, according to my Duty, stand up in my Place and impeach him of High Treason. In the same Manner I must impute our Method of beginning the War, our dilatory Method of prosecuting it, and particularly the great Neglect of our Trade, to some private Motives of our Minister's own: I am afraid he is under the Direction of *France* in the Prosecution of the War, as much as he seems to have been in the Treaties and Negotiations that preceded it. But, my Lords, none of these Things can be proved by a direct Proof, especially as we have been denied all those Lights that are necessary for coming at such a Proof. The Thing is impossible; and in the present Case it is unnecessary: Upon a general View of our Affairs, and the present Circumstances we are in, the late Conduct of our publick Affairs both at home and abroad, appears to have been most notoriously weak, and if there be any one in the Administration who is known, or generally

supposed to have been for several Years the sole Adviser, and chief Conductor of all our publick Affairs, this apparent Weakness is a sufficient Foundation for your Lordships to address his Majesty, that he would be pleased to remove that Minister from his Presence and Councils.

That there is in our Administration at present, a Minister who is generally supposed to have a Superiority in all our Councils, and that he has enjoyed that Superiority for these 15 or 16 Years, I believe; your Lordships will not desire me to prove. When I say that there is one Man now in the Administration, whose Advice has prevailed in all our Councils for 15 or 16 Years past; who has had the sole Disposal of all the Revenues of the Crown, and of all the Honours, Posts, and Employments the Crown could bestow; who has, in a most arbitrary Manner directed, not only at the Board to which he properly belongs, but, by some of his under Agents, at every other Board in the Kingdom; who has had it in his Power to dismiss, not only from every publick Employment, but even from the King's Councils and Presence, all those, let their Rank be what it will, who have had the Courage and Honesty to oppose vigorously any of his Measures: When I say this, my Lords, I am convinced, none of your Lordships, I am sure no one without Doors will doubt, that I mean Sir Robert Walpole; and this common Fame, this general Opinion, is a sufficient Foundation for your Lordships to point your Address particularly at him. The Weakness he has shewed in the Conduct of our publick Affairs, the general Hatred he has incurred among the People of this Kingdom, render it almost necessary for his Majesty to remove him from his Councils, lest the Discontents of the

the People, which are as yet levelled against the Minister only, should at last be converted into a general Disaffection to his present Majesty, and to his illustrious Family.

This Danger must, I think, my Lords, prevail with every one that has a true Regard for our present happy Establishment, to concur with me in the Motion I am to make; but there is another Danger, which affects the Honour, the Character, and the Dignity of this House. The same Minister has had the Misfortune, by his Conduct, to propagate and establish a general Opinion through the Nation, That Corruption is the only Art of Government he understands: That by corrupt Means he gets his Creatures and Tools chosen at most of the Elections in the Kingdom: That both Houses of Parliament are induced by a corrupt Influence to approve of his Measures; and that the publick Money is squandered away for the Sake of gaining him a legal Support. This Charge cannot be proved, as long as he has the Disposal of all the Money and all the Favours of the Crown; but it is so well established by common Fame, and so generally believed, that if you refuse to put the Question upon a fair and impartial Issue, by first putting it out of the Power of the Person accused to screen himself by Means of that very Crime of which he is accused, the World will be confirmed in that Opinion, which is already too general, and too steadfastly believed. As the Weakness of our late Measures is manifest to the whole World, as the Unpopularity of this Minister is known to every Man that converses with any independent Person in the Nation, and as he is generally suspected of being a most notable Corruptor, if you put a Negative upon the Motion I am to make, I am afraid, it may affect the Honour, the Charac-

ter, and the Dignity of this House, by making the World suppose that very Negative to proceed from the Influence of Corruption. But as I am convinced, that no such Influence can ever prevail in this House, and as, I think, I have given sufficient Reasons for your concurring with me, therefore, I shall conclude with moving your Lordships, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased, &c. (as before-mentioned, p. 209.)

The next that spoke was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, whose Speech was in Substance as follows, viz.

My Lords,

THAT this House, or that either House of Parliament, may address the Crown, for the Removal of any Minister, is a Question I shall not contest with the noble Lord, who has made you this Motion; but I must observe, that such a Motion was never, so far as I can recollect, agreed to, but in troublesome and factious Times, and that general Charges or general Accusations against Ministers, without fixing upon any particular Crime, or offering any Sort of legal Proof, have sometimes proved fatal to the King himself. The famous Case of the Earl of *Sirafford* in K. *Charles* the Ist's Time, ought to be a Warning to all future Kings, not to allow their Ministers to be attacked in Parliament upon general Rumors, Disgusts, or Accusations. The particular Circumstances of that Case are so well known, that I need not recapitulate them to your Lordships: The Accusation against him consisted only of some general Charges, unsupported by proper Proofs; and every one knows, that the violent Proceedings against that Earl were attended with such Consequences as

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ended in a Catastrophe, which all good Men detest and abhor.

The noble Lord was pleased to tell us, that an Address to remove a Minister from the King's Councils and Presence, can no Way affect a Man's Person, Freedom, or Estate. **A** My Lords, I must beg Leave to differ from the noble Lord in this Particular. Such an Address would affect a Minister's Character, and whatever affects a Man's Character, must be allowed to affect his Person. Do not Men every Day venture their Lives for the Sake of their Character? Would not any Man chuse to lose his Life, rather than live the Infamy and Reproach of his Country? And shall we in this House attempt to inflict a Punishment worse than Death itself, upon a Man against whom there is no particular Crime so much as alledged, nor any Proof offered but popular Resentments, which are very often unjust, and general Arguments, which, in my Opinion, are far from being conclusive. My Lords, it is easy to raise Objections against publick Measures that have been transacted many Years ago: It is impossible for human Wisdom always to take the best Course, and to make the best Use of the common Incidents that occur, or for human Foresight to provide against the extraordinary Incidents that may happen. Time and Experience discover to the wisest of Men, many Errors in their past Conduct; and when cross Accidents happen, every one is apt to imagine, they might have been foreseen and provided against. This is obvious to every Man, even in the Transactions of private Life; and as publick Transactions are much more intricate, and depend upon Causes which never were, nor could be under our Power or Direction, therefore the Errors and Mistakes of those concerned, must be more frequent,

and those Measures may afterwards appear weak, which, at the Time they were transacted, appeared to be the wisest that could be pursued. For this Reason, when we are to judge of the Wisdom or Weakness of a Minister's past Conduct, we ought to consider the Circumstances of Affairs, and the Appearance of Things, as they stood at the Time his Measures were concerted; and if at that Time they appeared to be the best, we are not from future Accidents, or from a future View of Things, to condemn them, either as weak or wicked. We may, perhaps, find, that our Minister was not inspired with divine Wisdom, but this can never be thought a good Reason for our addressing the King to remove him from his Presence and Councils.

From these general Observations, I hope your Lordships will be convinced, that upon the present Question you ought to view the publick Measures now objected to, in the same Light in which they appeared to you at the Time they were severally transacted; and, I hope, it will be allowed to be at least an Argument in their Favour, that every one of them was, after a close Examination, approved of by a Majority of this House, at the Times they respectively happened. But as I do not look upon this as a conclusive Argument in the present Debate, I shall beg Leave to answer some of those Objections that have been made against our past Measures, which I shall endeavour to do from Facts and Circumstances that are publickly known, without discovering any of those Secrets of State, which, by the Nature of my Office, may, perhaps, have been communicated to me. But I must observe, that in all such Cases, the Servants of the Crown labour under a very great Disadvantage; for they are often, for the Sake of the Publick,

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lick, obliged to conceal those Facts upon which their Conduct was founded, and which, if they could be revealed, would remove every Objection that could be made against it.

The Treaty of *Hanover*, and supposed Complaisance for *France*, seem, my Lords, to be laid down as the Foundation of all that Weakness, which some People pretend to have since appeared in our Conduct, which is an Argument that has been often made use of both within Doors and without, and, I think, as often answered as it has been started. As for the Treaty of *Hanover*, it is now publickly known, that the Hon. Gentleman against whom this Motion is levelled, whatever Share he may have in our other Councils, had not the least Share in the Council which advised that Treaty. The Negotiation was begun and ended whilst his late Majesty was at *Hanover*, and was directed and advised by the *English* Ministers, who had the Honour to attend his Majesty in that Journey, of which, it is well known, the Hon. Gentleman was not one. Both the Negotiation and Treaty were owing to the certain Information his late Majesty had of the private Articles that had been agreed on at *Vienna*, between the Emperor and *Spain*, and to the cruel Massacre of the Protestants at *Thorn* in *Poland*. The latter had been resented by this Court before his Majesty's Departure for *Hanover*, and deserved to be resented by every Protestant Court in *Europe*. And as to the former, no Discovery had been made of those private Articles, till after the King's Arrival in his *German* Dominions; and when a Discovery was made, it raised such a just Indignation in his late Majesty's Breast, that he immediately, and without consulting his Ministers here, resolved to take proper Mea-

asures not only for his Defence, but also for shewing his Resentment; therefore, if there was any Weakness, or any Imprudence in concluding that Treaty, it was not owing to the Hon. Gentleman whose Conduct is now under our Consideration.

But supposing, my Lords, the Hon. Gentleman to have been the chief or the sole Adviser of that Treaty, no Man that admits the Truth of the Fact upon which the Treaty was founded, could blame his Conduct; and considering we have the Truth of that Fact attested by his late Majesty himself in the most solemn Manner, I think, no Man, that has a true Regard for the Memory of his late Majesty, can doubt of it. I shall, therefore, take it for granted, that there was a private Treaty between the Emperor and *Spain*, by which the former engaged to assist the latter, *totis viribus*, in endeavouring to strip us of our valuable Possessions of *Gibraltar* and *Port Mahon*, and to place the Pretender upon the Throne of these Kingdoms; and the latter, in Return, promised to support the former in the Establishment of the *Ostend* Company, and granted such Privileges to his trading Subjects in the *Spanish* Dominions, as would have entirely ruined the Trade of these Kingdoms in that Part of the World. Can any Thing, my Lords, be supposed more injurious to this Nation? Would it not have been the Height of Imprudence to delay a Moment resenting, in the most proper Manner, such a dangerous, such an insulting Treaty? And I do not see how we could have resented it in a proper Manner, or even guarded against some Parts of it, without an Alliance with *France*. Without such an Alliance we could not certainly have resented it against the Emperor, and if we had resented it against *Spain*, or endeavoured to vindicate our Rights, with

respect to Trade; in the *Spanish* Dominions, the Emperor, if we had not kept him in Awe by an Alliance with *France*, would have immediately attack'd *Hanover*. I shall grant, that this Nation neither is obliged, nor ought to enter into a War on the sole Account of the *Hanoverian* Dominions; but when those Dominions come to be attacked by a foreign Power, solely on Account of some Quarrel or Misunderstanding with this Nation, surely we are obliged both in Honour and Interest to defend them.

I must therefore conclude, my Lords, that an Alliance with *France* was absolutely necessary for us at that Conjunction; and as that Alliance brought *France* into the Danger of being attacked by the Emperor and *Spain*, which would probably have been the Consequence, if *Spain* had got home her Treasure then in the *West-Indies*, we were, therefore, in common Prudence obliged, in order to prevent a general War in *Europe*, as well as to prevent our Ally being attacked, to put a Stop to the coming home of that Treasure. This, my Lords, justifies the Measures that were afterwards taken: The Squadron that was sent to the *West-Indies*, made it impossible for *Spain* to get her Treasure from thence, which prevented her attacking *France* in Conjunction with the Emperor; and the Squadron that was sent to the Coasts of *Spain*, prevented her attacking us, by playing the Pretender upon us, as she had endeavoured to do, during the very last Rupture we had with that Nation. But as our Business was to prevent a War, and not to begin one, therefore it would have been ridiculous in us to give Orders to our Squadrons to attack any Part of the *Spanish* Dominions, or to begin Hostilities against them. Nay, even when they attack'd us, by laying Siege to *Gibraltar*, as we knew the

Vanity of their Attempt, and that they could do us very little Harm, any other Way than by sending the Pretender with a few Troops in upon us, it would have been imprudent in us to attack them in our Turn; because it is the Interest of this Nation to avoid, as much as possible, having a War with the *Spaniards*, on Account of its begetting a Hatred and Animosity between the two Nations, which never ends with the War, and while it lasts, will always be of great Prejudice to our Trade. For the same Reason, as well as a great many others, it was our Business to restore a good Harmony between this Nation and *Spain*, and also between us and the Emperor, as soon as possible, after we had once convinced both these Powers of the Vanity of those Engagements they had entered into against us, by their Treaty at *Vienna* in 1725.

This, my Lords, was accordingly brought about, by what I must still call a Sort of dextrous Management, in a very short Time. A good Harmony between the Emperor and maritime Powers, was restored by the Preliminaries concluded at *Paris*, in May 1727, by which his Imperial Majesty put an End to the *Ostend* Company's Trade to the *East-Indies*, to the great Advantage of the *East-India* Trade of this Nation. These Preliminaries were agreed to by *Spain*, by the Convention signed at the *Pardo*, in March 1727-8, whereby his Catholic Majesty promised the immediate Restitution of the Ship *Prince Frederick*, and submitted all the other Disputes between the two Crowns to be debated and decided at the Congress, which was to be afterwards held at *Aix la Chapelle*. This, I think, must be allowed to be pursuing the true Interest of this Nation, not only with the utmost Prudence, but with the greatest Dispatch; and the Conclusion of the Treaty

Treaty of *Seville* was owing to the same Scheme of Politicks; for the Congress at *Aix la Chapelle* being likely to draw out to a great Length, by reason of the many Differences that were there to be settled between the several Powers of *Europe*, it would have been very inconvenient for this Nation to have its Differences with *Spain* so long left in Suspence, and therefore, a separate Negotiation was set on Foot for adjusting those Differences by themselves, which, in my humble Opinion, was the wisest Thing we could do; and this Negotiation was, in a very short Time, brought to a Conclusion by the Treaty of *Seville*, which was signed in *November 1729*, which would have put an End to all our Disputes with *Spain*, and would have procured us Reparation for all past Damages, if the Court of *Spain* had been as sincere in the Execution, as they seemed fair and candid in the Negotiation. But if the Court of *Spain* afterwards shuffled, and delayed to perform what they had so solemnly promised, surely the Insincerity and Breach of Faith in that Court cannot, with the least Shew of Justice, be imputed to any of the Ministers of ours; and less to the Hon. Gentleman attack'd by this Motion, than to any other; because in his proper Department he has nothing to do with foreign Affairs, and as a Member of his Majesty's Privy Council, he must give his Advice according to the Lights he receives from those who have.

If the *Spaniards*, my Lords, had punctually performed and observed what they promised in that Treaty, I believe, no Man in the Kingdom would have ever made an Objection to it: On the contrary, I am convinced, it would have been look'd on by the whole Kingdom, as one of the wisest Steps ever made by any *British* Administration; but as the *Spanish* Court neither performed,

nor observed so much as one Tittle of what they had promised, therefore, some People now find Fault with every Article of that Treaty, and among the rest, with that which stipulates the introducing of *Spanish*, instead of *Neutral* Troops, into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*. My Lords, the Difference between *Spanish* or *Neutral* Troops being in those Places is so very inconsiderable, that I am surprized to hear it made use of as an Objection to the Treaty of *Seville*. It was well known, that if the *Spaniards* should resolve to attack the Emperor in *Italy*, it would be necessary for them to send a much larger Body of Men into *Italy* than the 6000 stipulated by that Article, and this the maritime Powers could prevent whenever they pleased; therefore, if the Court of *Vienna* had kept in good Terms with the *Dutch* and us, so as to make it both our Interests to protect his Possessions in *Italy*, these 6000 *Spanish* Troops would rather have served as a Pledge for the Performance of Treaties on the Part of *Spain*, than as a Means for attacking the Emperor in that Country: Whereas, if the Court of *Vienna* should forfeit the Friendship of the *Dutch* and us, it signified nothing whether the *Spaniards* had 6000 Men in *Italy* or no, because they could send 20,000 of their Troops thither whenever they had a Mind, without its being in the Power of the Emperor to prevent it. For this Reason, I must be of Opinion, that the Court of *Vienna's* Obstinacy in refusing to admit of the Introduction of *Spanish* instead of *Neutral* Troops into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, was a mere Punctilio of the Court of *Vienna*; and were we to sacrifice the Interest and Trade of our Country to a mere Punctilio of that Court? If any Minister had prevailed with our Court to do so, I am sure the noble Lord would

would have had more Reason to call our Conduct wicked, than he has now to call it weak.

By that Treaty, my Lords, we did not engage to enter into a War, in Conjunction with *France* and *Spain*, against the Emperor, nor against any other Power in *Europe*. Even with regard to the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma*, who were the only Powers that had any real Interest in opposing the Entry of these Troops, we engaged only to use such Applications as should be consistent with their Dignity and Quiet. These two Dukes, I say, my Lords, were the only two Powers that had any real Interest to oppose the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into their Dominions: The Emperor could have no real Interest to do so, because by another Article in the same Treaty, those Troops were to be withdrawn, as soon as the Succession stipulated by the Quadruple Alliance should take Place; and really, if the Dukes of *Tuscany* and *Parma* had agreed to receive such Troops into their strong Places, I do not see what Title the Emperor had to oppose it; for the Sovereign Princes of the Empire may bring what Troops they please into their Dominions, provided they do not thereby disturb the Tranquillity of the Empire. But suppose the Emperor had opposed the Introduction of those Troops, and had by so doing come to a Rupture with *Spain*, it is evident from the very Words of the Treaty, that we were not obliged to take any Share in that War; and unless the Balance of Power in *Europe* had been brought into Danger by the Event of the War, I do not think our Interest could have induced us to engage upon either Side of the Question.

But, my Lords, whatever bad Policy there might have been in this Engagement for the Introduction of *Spanish* instead of *Neutral* Troops,

which we entered into by the Treaty of *Seville*, it cannot be justly said that it produced any bad Consequence. By our Treaty with the Emperor in 1731, we got him to consent to the Introduction of *Spanish* Troops into the strong Places of *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, without any Opposition; and I am glad to hear the noble Lord approve of that Treaty: I am glad to hear, that any one good Treaty has been made, or any one wise Measure concerted, since he has had no Share in the Administration; tho' even that Treaty was not, it seems, in his Opinion, so good as it should have been. But if we did not by that Treaty get all we wanted, if we did not get proper Regulations settled for our Trade in the *Austrian* Dominions, it must be allowed, we got two very good Things, which was, the absolute demolishing of the *Ostend East-India* Trade, and the establishing of the Tranquillity of *Europe*, by the peaceable Introduction of the *Spanish* Troops into *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*; both which we obtained, without entering into any Engagement for doing any Thing, but what our own Interest would have led us to, if no such Engagement had ever been made. This Article therefore, with respect to us, produced no ill Effect; and with respect to the Emperor, can it be supposed, that if there had been no *Spanish* Troops in *Italy* in the Year 1733, the *French* would not have dared to attack or declare War against the Emperor? Can it be supposed, that the *Spaniards* having such an inconsiderable Body as 6000 Men in *Italy*, was of any Weight in prevailing with them, or the King of *Sardinia*, to join the *French* in that War? Or can it be supposed, that the Success of the *French* and their Allies against the Emperor, would not have been as great as it was, tho' the *Spaniards* had not had

Man in *Italy* at the Beginning of the War?

That War, my Lords, did not proceed from the *Spaniards* having a few Troops in *Italy*, nor from any Error or Misconduct in us. It proceeded entirely from the Misconduct of the Court of *Vienna*: That Court had intermeddled in the Election of a King of *Poland*, perhaps more than they had Occasion to do; and they had for many Years behaved in such a Manner towards the *Dutch*, as made that Republick very cool in every Thing that related to the House of *Austria*. The *French* knew that the *Dutch* would no Way intermeddle in the Quarrel between them and the Emperor: They had actually brought the *Dutch* into a Treaty of Neutrality before they attack'd the Emperor; and they supposed, as they very well might, that this Nation would not, without the *Dutch*, take any Share in the War, unless they and their Allies should push their Success against the Emperor so far, as to endanger the Balance of Power in *Europe*. With respect to our Trade, it would have been one of the most unwise Things we could have done, to have engaged ourselves in a War against *France*, *Spain* and *Sardinia*, whilst the *Dutch* remained neutral; for it would of course have transferred, during the Continuance of the War, a great Part of our Trade, and our whole Navigation, to the *Dutch*; so that if the War had lasted long, as it probably might, this Nation would have been undone, even tho' we had met with the greatest Success in the Prosecution of the War; for whatever the Emperor might expect, this Nation could expect no Advantage from that Success, and the chief Burden of the War, with regard to the Expence, must necessarily have fallen upon us.

This, my Lords, the *French* were

very sensible of: They had experienced the Wisdom of some of those who had the Direction of our Affairs, from whence they foresaw, that we would not meddle in the War, when it was so contrary to our Interest to do so; and therefore, after having prevailed with the *Dutch* to agree to a Treaty of Neutrality, they thought they had a fair Opportunity for shewing their Resentment against the Court of *Vienna*, on Account of the Conduct of that Court with relation to the Election of a King of *Poland*. These Considerations, I say, encouraged the *French* to attack the Emperor at that Time, and these Considerations, joined with the Hopes of getting something by the Event of the War, encouraged *Spain* and *Sardinia* to join with them. The *Imperial* Court therefore owed that Misfortune to their own Conduct towards the *Dutch*; for however much we stood engaged to guarantee the Emperor's Possessions in *Italy*, by Virtue of the Treaties subsisting between him and us, we were not obliged to expose our Trade, and consequently ourselves, to certain Ruin on that single Account, especially as the *Imperial* Court had brought that War upon themselves, by endeavouring to prevent a free Election in the Kingdom of *Poland*.

If the *French*, my Lords, had been actuated by such ambitious Motives of Conquest, as they were in *Lewis* the XIVth's Time, I shall grant, that we ought for our own Safety, as well as for the Safety of *Europe*, to have joined with the Emperor in that War; but we very well knew, and the Event shewed, they were not. They even bridled their Ambition, and put a Stop to their Conquests in the Midst of Victory. They left the House of *Austria* very near as powerful as it was before, and they added but very little to their own Power; for if the

House of *Austria* lost *Naples* and *Sicily* by that War, it got *Tuscany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*; and considering that these Duchies lie adjacent to the other *Austrian* Dominions in *Italy*, it cannot be justly said, that the Power of the House of *Austria* A was much diminished by the Event of that War; nor was the Power of *France*, as I have said, much enlarged; for tho' by that Event the *French* got the absolute Property of the Duchy of *Lorain*, their Power was not thereby much enlarged; B because they had before a Sort of arbitrary Power over that Duchy, and did actually take Possession of it, and put Garisons into all its fortified Towns, whenever they had the least Occasion for so doing.

I cannot therefore see, my Lords, C how the Affairs of *Europe* were brought into any unhappy Situation, or how the Balance of Power was endangered, by the Event of that War. I shall grant, that both these Misfortunes might have been the Consequences of the Prosecution of D that War, if the *French* and their Allies had pushed their Conquests too far, or endeavoured to prosecute it in a different Manner; and, in order to prevent this, his Majesty took the best Method that could be taken in that Conjunction: He E increased his Forces both by Sea and Land, and thereby put himself in a Readiness to give a Check to any Views of Ambition, upon which ever Side they might appear. This, perhaps, was one of the Reasons, why the *French* were so moderate F in their Demands, when they began to negotiate a Peace with the Emperor; and that Peace, I think, notwithstanding all that has been said to the contrary, left the Situation of Affairs in *Europe* in as happy a Situation for this Kingdom, as G could well be desired. The Power of the House of *Austria* was much greater than it was in the Beginning

of the late Queen *Anne's* Reign. The Power of *France* was not near so great, nor was the Union between the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* so firm, as at that Time; and if *France* had since shewed any such ambitious Views as she did at that Time, it would have been easy for this Nation to have formed a more powerful Confederacy against her. I shall, indeed, admit, my Lords, that the present Situation of the Affairs of *Europe* is a little unfortunate for this Nation; but it is entirely owing to the unlucky Accident of the late Emperor's happening to die, before a King of the *Romans* was chosen. This Accident might, 'tis true, have been, and was, I believe, foreseen by our Ministers; but it was impossible for them to provide against it, without the Concurrence of the Court of *Vienna*, and a Majority of the Electors of the Empire; which was a Concurrence they could not absolutely command, had every one of them had as great Wisdom and Capacity as ever any mortal Man was indued with.

Having now, I hope, my Lords, removed all the Objections that have been made to our Conduct, so far as it relates to the Balance of E Power, and the present Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, I shall take up but very little of your Lordships' Time in answering the Objections that have been made to that Part of our Conduct which relates to our Affairs with *Spain*, or to our own domestick Affairs. Our Negotiations with *Spain*, my Lords, were all along founded upon this Principle, That as long as there was any Hopes of obtaining Redress by peaceable Means, we ought not to have Recourse to Arms. This Principle will, I hope, be allowed to be right in itself, and it has been all along approved of by Parliament. Therefore, in those Negotiations his Majesty

Majesty has acted rather by the Advice of his Parliament, than by the Advice of his Ministers; at least, if it was the Advice of his Ministers, it was such as has been approved of and recommended by his Parliament, which I must look on as a very strong Argument in its favour; for, I shall always have a much greater Regard for the Voice of Parliament within Doors, than for the Clamours of the People without; and, for this Reason, I must be of Opinion, that a Minister's Wisdom and Steadiness may sometimes be the Cause of his becoming unpopular. In all Countries, false Notions, Notions inconsistent with the publick Good, sometimes prevail among the Generality of the People, especially when those Notions are inculcated and propagated by a Party who oppose the publick Measures, not because they are wrong, but because they do not like the Men, or perhaps, because they are not the Men that advise and carry them on. This, I say, often happens in every Country, and in no Case so commonly as in that which relates to Peace or War. In such a Case, a Minister who looks into Futurity, and steadily pursues the Good of his Country, in Opposition to a prevailing Clamour, may become very unpopular, and may continue so for some Time; but, when the People become cool, and have Leisure to consider Things seriously and maturely, that Unpopularity will be converted into a general Esteem, and he will be admired for his Steadiness as well as for his Wisdom; therefore it will be a very imprudent Maxim for the Sovereign, even of this free Country, to dismiss a Minister on account of any popular Clamour that may arise, or be spirited up against him.

We are not therefore, my Lords, to imagine, that our Ministers are

guilty, either of Weakness or Wickedness, because they did not declare War against *Spain*, as soon as it was thought necessary by the Mob without Doors, spirited up by those who had suffered by the *Spanish* Depredations, and who of course were more swayed by Motives of Revenge, than by any Motives founded on the publick Good of the Nation in general, which did not permit that we should enter into a War whilst there were any Hopes of obtaining Redress by Negotiation. This was our Case in the Year 1733, when the War happened between *France* and the Emperor. We had then very good Reason to hope, that *Spain* might be brought to reasonable Terms by fair Means; therefore we had no Occasion, on our own Account, to attack *Spain* at that Time; and I have shewn, that we had no other Call to take any Share in that War. From that Time, the Court of *Spain* still gave us Hopes of obtaining Redress by Negotiation, and, at last, went so far as to promise it by a solemn Treaty. I mean, my Lords, the Convention. I shall not trouble your Lordships with answering the Objections that have now been made to it, because they were all fully answered when it was under our Consideration: I shall only say, that if the Court of *Spain* had performed what they promised by that Treaty, and had afterwards acted as candidly as they treated, we should have had no Occasion to declare War against them. But they did neither; and then, and not till then, a Rupture became necessary.

As for our Conduct since that Time, my Lords, I did not expect, that, upon a Motion of this Kind, it should escape Censure; because, in Time of War, it is so easy to find Faults, let the War be never so well conducted. As our Complaints against *Spain* were founded upon their

their having seized some of our Merchant Ships upon unjust Pretences, the most proper Method of seeking Redress, after the Court of *Spain* had denied it by fair Means, was by Reprisals. We had no Pretence for declaring War till the *Spaniards* seized our Ships in their Ports, and, without the least Pretence, published Reprisals against us. Upon this we declared War, and as soon as we had declared War, we began to prepare for attacking them in the proper Place; but we were first, in common Prudence, obliged to prepare for our own Defence, not so much on Account of any Attack we had to fear from the *Spaniards*, as on Account of a neighbouring Power that might, perhaps, resolve to join with *Spain* against us. That Power has not, 'tis true, yet done so; but this may be owing to the Preparations we have made for our Defence at home; for nothing can be more effectual for preventing any other Nation's joining with *Spain* against us, than their seeing, that it is out of their Power to hurt us. At the same Time that we provided for our Defence, we were likewise providing a Fleet, and a proper Number of Land Forces, for attacking the Enemy; and if that Fleet did not sail so soon as it ought to have done, and was expected, it was owing entirely to contrary Winds, which, I hope, will not be looked on, as proceeding from the Weakness or Misconduct of our Ministers.

Now, my Lords, with respect to our domestick Affairs, as I have shewn, that no Objection can be justly made to any Part of our Conduct relating to foreign Affairs, and as a great Part of the Expence we have been at, has been owing to the several Broils we have been involved in with the other Powers of

Europe, if our Debts are not greatly diminished, nor our Taxes abolished, it is not owing to the Weakness of our Ministers, but to the extraordinary Expence we have been from Time to Time put to; and to a restless, disaffected Party at home, which has all along obliged us to keep in Pay a more numerous standing Army than we should otherwise have had Occasion for. And as to the severe penal Laws that have been enacted, and the dangerous Schemes that have been attempted, they relate only to the Collection of the publick Revenue; therefore, if there be any Severity in the Laws, or if there was any Danger in the Schemes, both ought to be imputed to the Wickedness of our Smugglers and clandestine Traders, and not to the Weakness or Wickedness of our Ministers. This was the Case of the late *Excise-Scheme*, which, I still think, could not in the least have affected our Liberties, had it passed into a Law; and am of Opinion, that the Clamours raised against it were chiefly owing to our Smugglers being conscious, that it would have been effectual for the End intended. It was this that made them so active in raising a popular Clamour against that Scheme, and considering their Numbers, and the Interest the People have in being able to purchase at a cheap Rate, I do not at all wonder at their Success.

I hope, my Lords, I have now shewn, that we have not the least Occasion to address his Majesty to remove any one of his Ministers from his Councils; and therefore, I hope the Motion will meet with the Fate it deserves: I am sure, I shall most heartily give it my Negative.

[This DEBATE and JOURNAL to be continued in our next.]

Common Sense, May 2. N^o 221.

The honourable Descent, but vicious Character of a certain Person lately deceased.

AN ingenious Author hath somewhere observ'd, that the vulgar Saying, *De mortuis nil nisi bonum*, contains the most absurd Doctrine that ever enter'd into the Head of a School Pedant. — According to this Doctrine, if you were to speak of *Mecænas* and *Sejanus*, of that Monster *Nero*, and of *Trajan* the Delight of Mankind, you must speak with the same Tendernefs of one as of the other, because they are all dead.

I have the Pleasure to observe, that wise Men in all Ages have rejected it as an old Woman's Saying. The honestest Men have not spared the Wicked, and I think there is one Consolation in out-living infamous Men who have possess'd great Power, that we may speak of them according to their Merits, without Danger to ourselves.

I thought fit to premise thus much, because I am going to give a Character of a certain Person lately deceased, of whom I shall say as much Good as is consistent with Truth. Altho' I cannot weep over his Hearse, I shall do Justice to his *Manes*; nay, I shall use him with so much Tendernefs as not to mention him by Name. If my Picture be like the Original, the World will know whom I mean; if it is not, they will not find him out, and of Consequence F no Injustice is done him.

The Person I mean, departed this Life the latter End of last Week, at his Lodgings next Door to the *Crown Alehouse, Westminster*, which Lodgings he hath occupied these 7 Years, to the no small Dissatisfaction of all G the Neighbours, who have long wish'd to see the House presented at the Quarter Sessions as a disorderly House.

As I promised to speak as well of him as I could, I must own, that he was descended from as venerable and antient a Family as any in the Kingdom. Some say they came in with the *Saxons*, others, that they A were establish'd here before the Conquest of the *Romans*, and were of the antient *British* Extraction. Be that as it will, it is certain the Family hath produced a great Number of most illustrious Personages, who preserv'd its Honour unblemish'd for many Ages.

There was one Custom peculiar to this Family, that they lived constantly in the Country, and never would go near a Court, and were so highly esteem'd by their Neighbours, that they have often been C intrusted with the Lives and Fortunes of the whole Country; and with so much Fidelity did they discharge this Trust, that if any Man robb'd or oppress'd the Country, they never ceas'd pursuing him, were he never so great, never so powerful, till they brought him to the Gallows. In fine, it was a Family remarkable for its good Sense, as well as for a noble publick Spirit: They were, at once, both the Counsellors and Defenders of their Neighbours.

E I presume it will appear, by what I have here said, that I am free from all Malice and Prejudice towards the Family; and therefore, what I am obliged in Justice to declare of the last unworthy Descendant from it, will meet with the more Credit.

It hath been observ'd, that for the 3 or 4 last Generations the Family hath, by Degrees, been degenerating from all its antient Virtues, insomuch that the last Descendant (the Person of whom we are going to speak) gave himself up to all those Vices which a corrupt Age brings upon the Stage: He pass'd his Time in this virtuous Town a-

mongst Fidlers, and Buffoons, and Harlots, and Placemen; so much a Stranger to his Country Neighbours, that his Face was not so much as known to them. The Character given of *Cataline* would fit him, he was *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, and having reduced himself by his Luxury and riotous Living, he had Recourse to various unjustifiable Methods for supporting himself and his Vices: He was a Composition of the Stockjobber, the Sharper, the Petty-fogger and the Bully; mightily affecting the Cockade and military Habit, tho' I must assure the Readers, he had nothing, either within or without him, of the Soldier but the Dress.

It is observ'd, that the Reputation which a Man gains in the World, shall descend to his Successors, and support them in publick Esteem for a long Time; which was found to be true with Respect to this Family. When they began to degenerate, the Country remember'd the Virtues of their Predecessors, and were willing to trust them longer, expecting a Reformation of Manners; but when the Person lately deceased had intirely betrayed the Trust reposed in him, they began to lose all Respect for the Family itself.

To explain this Matter, it will be necessary to take Notice, that there was a certain low tricking Fellow who was grown immensely rich by defrauding the Country, and oppressing the industrious People; he would have a Share of every Thing that was to be eat, drank, seen, felt, heard or understood; he would drink Gin, and Brandy, and Rum, and Mead, and Cyder, and Perry, and Metheglin, and was an immoderate Lover of Porter: He had a most voracious Appetite, but having once eat two or three Loads of Hay, it had like to have choaked him; but he re-

cover'd, to the great Mortification of the whole Country. Now the People finding that this Fellow would eat them out of House and Home, if he was not remov'd, begg'd of the Deceased to take their Cause in Hand, and to bring this Delinquent to an Account, putting him in Mind how honourably his Ancestors used to behave upon the like Occasions; which he readily undertook, and as readily betray'd, following the Dictates of a Heart quite corrupted, and suffering himself to be shamefully bribed by the adverse Party.

One may say, he had every Vice but Dissimulation; for he was so publick in his Practices, that he became a Cringer at Levees, and an open Prostitute to this Fellow; he would say, black was white, at his Command; fetch and carry for him like a Spaniel, and hath been seen to obey his very Nod; and so far from bringing him to publick Punishment, that he undertook to defend him against all his Enemies; so that one may say, that he died by the Consent of all that knew him: And if his next Heir should not prove an honest Man, it will be wish'd that the Family was quite extinct.

When the first Rumour was spread abroad of his being indisposed, some were for administering strong Vomits, others for giving him violent Purges, that might speedily kill him, or speedily cure him of his vicious Humours; but when it was reported that certain Quacks had undertaken to keep him alive another Year, it can't be imagined what a Damp it struck upon the Minds of all that were acquainted with him.

He died of a Complication of Distempers, his Constitution having been totally corrupted by his Vices and his high luxurious Way of living. Some call'd it a scorbutick P—x mix'd with the Itch; the latter

latter chiefly affected the Palms of his Hands, to which they every now and then applied a certain Preparation of Gold, which used to abate the Itching for a little While; but then it constantly return'd again with greater Violence than before, for his whole Mass of Blood was so infected, that his Distempers were gone too far to be cured.

I recommend it to the worshipful Company of Undertakers to take Care of his Funeral, but I would advise them not to pretend to embalm him in order to his lying in State; for he is so corrupted that I promise them he won't keep, so that if he is not immediately buried it may cause an Infection. I think the prudentest Thing they could do would be to bury him privately; let them make a very deep Grave, that his Bones may be never dug up again, and let his only Friend, the Person upon whose Account he betray'd all his Neighbours, be the chief Mourner.

As, perhaps, No-body will give themselves the Trouble to write an Epitaph upon him, I will recommend the Undertakers to make use of the following, tho' it was originally made for another Person.

*Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
Laid many a heavy load on thee.*

Craftsman, May 2. N^o 774.

A new Kind of DISEASE, very prevalent at this Time.

S I R,

THE Thought of comparing the *Body politic* with the *Body natural*, and tracing them through their various Similitudes, hath been the allegorical Wit of most of our Party Writers. The Fever of *Avarice*, the Dropsy of *Ambition*, the running Ulcer of *Corruption*, and a Crowd of such like metaphorical Diseases, are Terms made use of with

great Success to point out the ill State of *political Health*, and enumerate the several Distempers of our Constitution.

But my Design is not to lament the Increase of any of these figurative Maladies, but by your Means to warn the rest of my Countrymen of a real Disease, which hath of late spread itself over almost the whole Nation. The Distemper by Physicians called the *Scrophula*, in plain English, the *King's-Evil*, is sufficiently known in our Climate: I thought fit to mention this, because it bears a Kind of Relation and Resemblance to another Distemper, which is at present so rise in this Kingdom, tho' there are nevertheless some essential Differences between them. A Man of your ready Apprehension, Mr. D'Anvers, cannot be at a Loss to perceive, from what I have said, that this raging Plague, this *Morbus epidemicus*, which I mean, can be no other than what we may emphatically stile the *Minister's Evil*. The Symptoms of it are very much like those of the other Evil above-mentioned, viz. a surprizing Thirst, together with frequent Gripings of the Hand, Ravings, Distortions, and an insatiable Appetite, in which it favours much of what the *Horse-Doctors* call the *Hungry-Evil*; but its Consequences are much more lamentable; for it entirely changes the Nature and Tempers of those, whom it infects; and, when it is in its highest Malignity, possesses the whole Man, disorders all his Senses, and turns every Thing topsy-turvy. The miserable Wretch, who labours under it, forgets his Friends, his Parents, and even himself. Great Things seem small to him, and small ones great; Black white, and White black; he calls Peace War, and War Peace; and, like Sir Francis Wronghead, is perpetually saying *Ay*, when he should have said *No*.

It

It is remarkable, that when this Disease is join'd with the *Cacoethes Scribendi*, to which the *English* are likewise very subject, it works the most miraculous Effects, sinks the Patient into a most profound Lethargy, an incurable Dulness and A Stupidity.

I have been inform'd by an intimate Friend of mine, and a Man of philosophical Turn, that *this Disease* hath had a pestilential Influence on the Air, and much more so in some Places than in others. B The Air, for Instance, of St. James's is, as he assures me, very much tainted by it, as also no inconsiderable Part of *Westminster*. Several of the *Counties* have likewise felt the most severe Effects of this Contagion, particularly down in *Norfolk*, C and the *Parts adjacent*, where the poor Inhabitants are almost eat up with it; and unless some speedy Remedy be apply'd, we shall not, in a Year's Time, have a *sound Englishman* in all the *Counties* round about us.

The hereditary Right of *Touching* in our *English Kings*, is a Fact too well attested to be call'd in Question. How it came to be laid aside of late Years, is not my present Business to enquire. I shall only from hence take Occasion to observe, that E *Ministers* have likewise pretended to this *manual Specifick*; but, as I shall easily make appear, with quite different Success. I know there is even now a *certain arch Empirick*, who hath touch'd (to our Sorrow be it spoken) the greatest Part of the F Nation; and boasts, no Doubt, sufficiently of his Abilities. I know too, that many of his *Patients* have been deluded into a fond Belief, that by his Means they have been restored to their Health; tho' I am satisfy'd that he hath only plunged G them deeper into it. But they are so superstitiously in Love with him, that they look upon him as another

Iapis, who does not perform without the divine Assistance; and his zealous Votaries, in the Enthusiasm of their Gratitude, have not scrupled to say, (as *Statira* does of her *Alexander*) that

He touches like a God.

History informs us, that when an *Henry*, an *Edward*, or any other of our *old Kings* were pleased to impart Health and Soundness to any of their Subjects, who had the *Evil*, they called for a *Basin* of Water, in which they washed their own Hands, and those of the *Patient*; which, together with a few efficacious Prayers, and a *Bit of Gold* hung about the Neck, never fail'd of being an immediate Cure; whereas *Ministers*, in this Ceremony of *Touching*, observe a different Method. The *Patient's* Hands, instead of being clean, are by the *Doctor's* Orders always kept as *dirty* as possible. For which Reason, they are daily employed in the *meanest Offices* imaginable. D The *Doctor* holds the Practice of applying *Gold* to be a good one, but he hath found out a better Place for it than the Neck; which he looks upon as his *grand Catholicon*, his *infallible Panacea*; and when given, *quantum sufficit*, which he himself hardly knows, always does the Business. For this Reason, he hath made greater Use of this Remedy than of any other; and, I am convinced, much more than all his honest Countrymen wish or desire.

ÆSCULAPIUS.

Universal Spectator, May 2. N° 656.

Of the Hospitality and good Manners, at this Time diffusing themselves through every Part of Great Britain.

S I R,

IT has been a long Complaint, that the Nobility and Gentry of this Kingdom have liv'd in quite another

other Manner than their Ancestors: The Gentlemen of *England* formerly resided for the most Part upon their Estates, and kept up a generous Hospitality among their Tenants and Neighbours. Even the Courtiers of those Days made not the Court and City their constant Residence. When they were not performing the immediate Business of their Offices, they return'd to their Estates, and equally paid their Duty to their Sovereign and their Country.

I will not fix the *Æra* when this Custom began to change, but I may venture to date the Disuse of it from the Restoration of K. Charles II. The polite Court of that polite Monarch had many Attractions; and the Country Gentlemen and Ladies were too much charm'd with the Gaieties of the Town, to think their old Seats and Mansion Houses in the least agreeable. That false Politeness and Love of Gaiety has ever since too much prevail'd; should one make a Journey thro' the Kingdom, even in the Summer, how few Lords, Knights, and Gentry are found at their Seats! and, I believe, to see a Duke in a Country Church would be thought a Miracle. The Squire who was formerly an intimate Friend of his Tenants, is now not known by them after he is come of Age: Nor does he know any more of his Manors and Estate, than if they were so many Plantations in *America*.

These Charges have been laid against our Gentry; but that friendly Intercourse between Gentlemen of Estates and their Tenants, that Hospitality of rich Men to the Poor, that Civility which the Nobleman paid to the Yeoman, and the Courtier to the Mechanic, in former Times, are not only equall'd, but exceeded in our own. In every County, Town and Borough throughout Great Britain, we see surprizing Instances of modern Hospitality and

good Manners. What Gentleman's Table is not now free and open to his Friends and Tenants? What Knight is there that does not invite all the Country round to drink his *Ostober*? What Nobleman is there who does not think it an Honour to receive a Visit from the meanest Freeholder? Nor will the sprucest Courtier refuse a hearty Shake of the Hand from the dirtiest Burgefs of a Corporation.

The hospitable good Manners I would describe are thus excellently sung by a Bard, who saw something like them about 7 Years ago:

When the duke's grandson for the county stood,
His beef was fat, and his *Ostober* good;
His lordship took each plowman by the fist,
Drunk to their sons, their wives and daughters
kiss'd: [inflames,

But when strong beer their free-born hearts
C They sell him bargains, and they call him
names:

Thus is it deem'd in *English* nobles wise,
To stoop for no one reason, but to rise.

Art of Politicks.

But these Instances of modern Hospitality and good Manners are not confin'd to Examples which the Nobility and Gentry shew in their own Counties: They shew the same Civility, and treat with the same Generosity in Places which they never saw before in their Lives. Nor in this only do they exceed the Munificence of our Ancestors: They bestow considerable Largeffes on their new Friends of a Day, and put a Sum of Gold in their Hands with as much good Nature as a Glass of Wine. In some Places, the Hospitality and good Manners of the Gentlemen of this Age are more extraordinary; for I am very well inform'd, that there are several Persons in *London*, who, scorning to be out-done in Generosity, send Deputies to treat their Acquaintance a hundred Miles off, whom they not only never saw, but never intend to see.

If these are not Proofs that we go beyond our Ancestors in Politeness and good Nature, I know not what

what can be; tho' some may look on this kind, polite, civil Behaviour, in a contrary Light, and think it rather a Proof of our *degenerating* from the *Virtues* of our Ancestors, than *excelling* them.

Mr. Downright, the Curate of our Parish, is an honest Man and a good Scholar, but of so odd a Way of thinking, that he affirm'd, that all this *Hospitality* was *political Craft*, and the *Generosity Corruption*; and that the Gentlemen only come down to seduce their Countrymen with Beef and Beer. — “Do you think, cry'd he, that true Hospitality and good Manners will shew themselves but once in *seven Years*? Are these Times to give Money away to *John a Noakes* and *Thomas Styles*, for *nothing*? No, no, this Treating and Feasting is errant *Gut Bribery*; and if my Countrymen would consider the courtly Civilities that are paid them, they ought to confess an Obligation for them no more than a Farmer ought to make a Bow to the 'Squire next Morning, who made him drunk over Night to over-reach him in a Bargain. I would not make any invidious Parallels, but I cannot help observing what Sort of Hospitality and good Manners the *Romans* could shew on particular Occasions. Among them there was no such Thing as coming at publick Employments, unless by the *Election* of the People: This made all the great Men at *Election Times* very complaisant; and let them be as ambitious as they would, they were obliged to care for the lowest Artizan. The *Candidates*, call'd so from being dress'd in White, went thro' the City to beg Votes, attended by all their Friends and Dependants: The Magistrates, who supported the Interest of a *Candidate*, recommended him to the People; and certain Persons walked at the *Candidate's* Elbow, to whisper the several Names of the People,

that he might pay his Respects to them. Besides this, they gave publick *Feasts*, which had great Influence: I remember a Description in *Otway*, which may give you an Idea of them.

Would it not anger any true-born Roman,
To see the giddy multitude together;
Never consulting who 'tis best deserves,
But who feasts highest, to obtain their suffrage?

It is not many years since two great men
In Rome stood equal candidates together
For high command: in ev'ry house was riot;
To-day the drunken rabble reel to one;
To-morrow they were mad again, for th' other,
Changing their voices with their entertain-
And none could guess on whom the choice
would settle,

Till at the last a stratagem was thought of.
A mighty vessel of *Falernian* wine
Was brought into the Forum, crown'd with
wreaths

Of ivy, sacred to the jolly god.
The monster people roar'd aloud for joy;
When streight the candidate himself appears
In pomp, to grace the present that he made
them:

The fools all gap'd: then when awhile he had
With a smooth tale tickled their asses ears,
At both ends tapp'd his butt, and got the
consulship.

Such, on particular Occasions, was the Generosity and Complaisance of the *Romans*; but I must observe, it was when the *Romans* had far degenerated from the rough Virtues of their Ancestors, and that after they became so very complaisant and generous, they did not long maintain their *Greatness*, or their *Liberties*.”

I believe the Reflexions of Master Downright may be somewhat just, yet I cannot bear any Parallel to be made between *such a State* of Rome, and the *present State* of Great Britain: I hope all the Hospitality and good Breeding which the Gentry are now shewing throughout the Kingdom, take their Rise from more honest Motives, and the strong Professions Gentlemen now make of their Love to their Country, are not merely temporary Promises, but flow from a *sincere Heart*, and *virtuous Principle*. But if I am *deceiv'd*, and these

these are not the Motives on which all *Englishmen* at present act; I am sure they are such *Principles* as all *Englishmen* ought at all Times to follow.

JOHN BRITON.

Craftsman, May 9. N^o 775.

Of our late MEASURES, and the late MOTION.

THOSE incorrigible Block-heads, *Freeman and Company*, will never have done with the Treaty of *Utrecht*; tho' their ridiculous Arguments, upon that Head, have been confuted and exposed a thousand Times over. I think these doughty Politicians might, with as much, or more Reason, have laid all our present Misfortunes to the fatal *Partition* Treaties in the Reign of King *William*, which occasioned the last bloody and consuming War; for our being dup'd by *France* into a Scheme for dismembering the *Spanish* Monarchy, provoked *Charles II.* to leave the Whole by Will to the House of *Bourbon*, which she greedily accepted, notwithstanding her Engagements with us in the *Partition* Treaties. This rendered the grand Alliance necessary to undo our own bungling Work, and maintain the Balance of Power in *Europe*. Our Success in this War exceeded all Expectation, and put a Stop to the towering Projects of *France*, which seem'd to have nothing less in View than universal Monarchy. But the Expence of it grew at last so excessively burdensome, that the Nation could not possibly bear it any longer. A Peace, of some Kind or other, was therefore become absolutely necessary for the Ease of the People, and clamorously demanded by them. That the Treaty of *Utrecht* was defective in several Particulars, considering our great Successes in the War, hath been often acknowledg-

ed. But have we not since had many Opportunities of supplying those Defects, especially during the Minority of the present King of *France*, and the Regency of the late Duke of *Orleans*? Nay, were we not triumphantly told, soon after the late King's Accession to the Throne, and upon almost every Treaty made since, that the Mis-carriages of the four last Years of *Q. Anne's* Reign were fully rectified by the Wisdom and Address of succeeding Ministers, particularly the present?—But a new System of Politicks having been wisely started and pursued for several Years, without any great Success, the Contrivers and Conductors of it were obliged to have Recourse to their old Topick of the Treaty of *Utrecht* again, which is the *Scape-Goat* to make an Atonement for all their Sins and Transgressions.—The whole Strength of their Arguments, upon this Head, may be summ'd up in the following genealogical Manner.

D The Treaty of *Utrecht* begot the Treaty of 1716; and the Treaty of 1716 begot the *Quadruple Alliance* in 1717; and the *Quadruple Alliance* begot the private Treaty in 1721; and the private Treaty of 1721 begot the Congress at *Cambray*; and the Congress of *Cambray* begot the first *Vienna* Treaty; and the first *Vienna* Treaty begot the Treaty of *Hanover*; and the Treaty of *Hanover* begot the *Preliminaries*; and the *Preliminaries* begot the Congress at *Soissons*; and the Congress of *Soissons* begot the Convention of the *Pardo*; and the Convention of the *Pardo* begot the *Provisional* Treaty; and the *Provisional* Treaty begot the Treaty of *Seville*; and the Treaty of *Seville* begot the second *Vienna* Treaty; and the second *Vienna* Treaty begot the last ever-memorable *Convention*; and the last *Convention* begot the *War*; and it is to be hoped that, when we are

quite impoverished, the *War* will beget a *Peace*; according to the excellent Observation of that renowned *Philomath* and *Astrologer*, *Mr. Vincent Wing*, who annually obliges us with the following wise and undeniable Maxims:

War begets Poverty;

Poverty Peace;

Peace makes Riches flow;

(Fate ne'er doth cease;)

Riches produce Pride;

Pride is War's Ground;

War begets Poverty;

So the World goes round.

But to return.—I will undertake to prove, by the same Method of Reasoning, that this same damn'd Treaty of *Utrecht* begot the late Motion against a great and honourable Minister; for if this Treaty had not begot so many other bad Treaties, there would have been no Occasion or Pretence for that Motion. Ergo, the Treaty of *Utrecht* was the true and proper Father of it.—Who or what begot the Defeat of it, let the learned Connoisseurs in Money-Matters determine.

This Motion not only produced a warm Debate within Doors, and a political Controversy without, but hath occasion'd Abundance of Wit and Humour in various Shapes. It hath been depicted upon Fans and Screens and hieroglyphical Prints, under the Names of the Motion, the Reason, the Grounds, &c.—But let us take a little View of the Merits of the Case.

The *Gazetteer-Legion* have already blotted several Reams of Paper, and shed vast Quantities of Ink in Defence of their Patron against the Motion, which they are pleased to call *unprecedented*, and contrary to the ordinary Forms of Parliament, tho' there are many Instances of it in our Histories, and upon the Journals, even in Cases of much less Importance than what occasioned the late Motion; nor can any Thing

be more consistent with Reason and Justice than an humble Address to his Majesty to remove a Minister from his Councils, who is generally thought to have made an ill Use of his Power and Credit, for 20 Years together, both at home and abroad. To demand or expect particular Proof, in this Case, is ridiculous; since the Facts are notorious, and felt by every body, who hath common Understanding, and the Sense of Feeling.

Besides, it is beneath the Dignity of Parliament to proceed according to the common Forms of the Courts below, and descend into particular Proof of every minute Circumstance, as if the Cause was to be try'd by a Jury. The Parliament are to judge in this Case, as they do in many others, from their own Knowledge and Experience. They are the grand Council and Inquest of the Nation, whose peculiar Province and Duty it is to advise his Majesty in all weighty and arduous Affairs; and this Motion contain'd nothing but such humble Advice, upon the present unhappy State of Affairs, both abroad and at home, which is visible and self-evident, without any particular Evidence. What Proof, for Instance, was necessary to convince the Parliament, that we are negotiated, by a tedious Labyrinth of Treaties, into an expensive War with Spain; and that the House of Austria is reduced to a miserable Condition, for Want of our seasonable Succour and Assistance, according to Treaties?

Again; What Evidence was wanting to prove that our domestick Affairs are in the same melancholy Situation, with regard to our Debts, Taxes, and heavy Duties upon all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life? Does not every Body see it and feel it? To whom therefore can all this Complication of Misfortunes and Calamities be justly ascribed, but to one Man, who is known

to have long had the prevailing Influence over the Councils of these Kingdoms, and is not ashamed to confess and glory in it? He hath more than once made himself answerable for it, and defy'd his Adversaries to call him to a strict Account; tho' whenever it comes to the Point, he shuts up all the Lights, which are necessary to a due and proper Enquiry.

But what could be reasonably expected from a Parliament, in which there were above 200 known Placemen, besides private Pensioners and occasional Jobmen? However, the Motion hath had one good Effect, by distinguishing those who sincerely and heartily detest bad Measures, and the Author of them, from those, who either openly or secretly abet them for different Ends. Nobody can be surprized at those, who do it for Self-Interest; but it seems unaccountable that any Gentlemen should be actuated by mean Jealousy, or old Family Grudges, to support a Minister, whom they have long opposed, as a bad Minister, and even call'd for a publick Charge against him.—I wish some of them, who are really in the Interest of the Pretender, may not proceed upon this Machiavelian Principle, that the best and surest Method of paving his Way to the Throne is by supporting an odious Minister, on the Day of Trial, however they may oppose him in other Points, and thereby endeavouring, as much as possible, to alienate the Affections of his Majesty's Subjects.—This is an old State-Trick, which hath been often practis'd with Success; and therefore ought to put all those upon their Guard, who have the Interest and Prosperity of the present Royal Family truly at Heart.

It is heartily to be wish'd that the next Parliament may not be croud'd with such a Number of Placemen and Pensioners as the last

was. If it should, the Lord have Mercy upon us!—I dread to think of the Consequences; and hope my Countrymen will exert all their Endeavours to prevent such a destructive Evil, and supply that with their Votes, which their disinterested Representatives could not obtain by a Place-Bill. Thus will they save their Country from the all-devouring Jaws of Corruption, have the Blessings of the present Age, and endear their Memory to the latest Generations.

Common Sense, May 16. N^o 223.

Against abusing a Parliament of PLACEMEN.

AS often as the People come to the Election of a new Representative, it hath been common to warn them particularly against Lawyers, and military Officers, as Persons by no Means fit to be confided in: The first, because they are used to argue against their Knowledge and Consciences for Hire: The last, because they are accustomed to obey Command.—And again, the first expect to rise by the Favour of the Ministers, and the present Bread of the last depends upon the same Favour.

Placemen are become so detested, that it is altogether unnecessary to caution any uninfluenced Man against giving any of them a Vote. Let all those who have observ'd the arbitrary and insolent Dominion which one Placeman exercises over all the rest consider, whether the private Interest of the Placeman be not inconsistent with the Nature of this publick Trust.

It is the Duty of the Representatives of the People to punish all Acts of Male-Administration, that is to say, the Crimes of those who bestow Employments; they are to examine into every Branch of Government, and punish the Frauds of the little as well as great Knaves.—Will they disgrace, expel, fine, imprison, and strip themselves of what they have feloniously taken from the Publick, under the Name of Perquisite?—Nobody expects it from them.

When you take the Nature of this Trust in its full Extent, when you consider that the Representatives of the People are to stand as a Barrier against the Encroachments of Prerogative, and to controul and check every arbitrary Act of Power; to chuse Placemen for this Purpose, is just as wise, as if I had a Dispute in Relation to my Property with some powerful Neighbour, and I should agree to refer it to his own Servants, knowing be-

fore-hand that if they did not give it against me, every Man of them would be turn'd out of their Places.

It must make one smile to see with what Assurance these People address the Electors, and in what a Stile they advertise; they don't so much as pretend they ever did or ever design to give one Vote for the Good of the Country; but they tell them they shall be much obliged to them, if they will give them their Votes. Indeed they say very true, a Man is certainly very much obliged to me, if I give him an Opportunity of making his Fortune by selling me and my Neighbours, as well as our Posterity.

I believe nobody will deny but that it is owing to the Opposition, that the very Name of a P—— is not become infamous in the Opinion of the World; the good Laws they have attempted, the bad they have opposed, (altho' unavailing) have kept the People without Doors in Hopes of seeing Things mend: The Nation did not despair as long as there were Men in that House of the largest Possessions, and the greatest Reputations for Honour, and good Sense, who stood in the Front of the Battle to defend them against the Rapine of a determined Gang of Placemen; but if these Gentlemen see that by double Returns, by false Returns, and open Bribery, a corrupt P—— is hereafter to become the Constitution, they will one and all decline that Trust; they will leave it entirely to the Placemen, and never enter into a Place where their Presence can only serve to cast a Disguise over the Corruption of others.

The Salaries of the Civil Employments in this Kingdom amount to near as much, if not to the full, as those of all the Governments in Europe put together: There goes 400,000 l. a Year into both H——s, for Salaries, without reckoning Pensions or private Gratuities, and this at a Time that the Nation is engaged in a War, and is 50 Millions in Debt. I say nothing of the immense Sum paid out of the H——; one Third of both one and the other are mere *Sinecures*, they have nothing to do but to cringe at a Levee.

The Spaniards no sooner enter'd into the present War, but one Third of the Salaries of all Civil Employments in Spain was deducted towards the Expence. When the Swedes lately augmented their Forces, the Fund appropriated for the additional Charge was one Half of the Salaries of all Civil Employments.—An immense Land Army hath been rais'd in this Kingdom for this Sea War; the Severity of the Seasons, and the Decay of Trade is such, that in the Cloathing Counties 7s. in the Pound is paid towards the Support of the Poor, which, added to other Taxes, runs so high, that many of the Gentry will receive nothing this Year out of their Estates.—How have the Placemen

shared in the publick Calamities? What additional Sum have they contributed towards the Distresses of the Poor, and the Expences of the War? Not a Shilling.

It is much easier to let the Electors know whom they ought not to elect, than whom they ought; most certainly they ought not to elect one of the 290, &c. who, not long since, gave up (as much as they could) the Honour, nay the very Constitution of Parliament.—As to those that sneak'd upon that memorable Day, they have repented, and it is not doubted but their future Behaviour will shew that their Repentance is sincere; I except one or two, who play'd the Seducers upon that Occasion, and who, I am very sure, will act the same Part again, if ever they are trusted.

Craftsman, May 16. N^o 776.

The Prevalence and fatal Consequences of Luxury and Corruption.

NOTHING is a surer Omen of a declining State, whether it be an absolute Monarchy, a limited Monarchy, or a Commonwealth, than the Prevalence of Vice, Immorality, Luxury and Corruption.

Whilst the *Albion* and other Grecian States preserved their Integrity and Temperance, they likewise maintain'd their Liberties in full Vigour, and kept all the neighbouring Princes in Awe. But when they degenerated from their ancient Virtue, and the Love of their Country gave Way to the Love of Riches, Ambition, and voluptuous Pleasures, they soon became the abject Slaves of an insatiable Conqueror.

The ancient Commonwealth of Rome underwent the same dreadful Revolution, and by the same Means; for from the most abstemious and rigid Way of Living, which made them, in a Manner, the Lords of the Universe, they sunk all on a sudden, as Mont. Vertot observes, into the lowest Kinds of Effeminacy, Luxury and Prostitution, under the false Notion of Politeness; which of course reduced them from being the most free, the most warlike, and the most glorious People recorded in History, to the arbitrary Subjection of the most bloody Monarchs, that ever debas'd human Nature, and render'd the very Name of Government odious in the Eyes both of God and Man.

I am loth to prognosticate the same miserable Fate to our own Country, and heartily pray God to avert it from us. We have still the Remains of a most excellent Constitution, deliver'd down to us by a long Succession of Ancestors, who were a rough, hardy, brave People, untainted with Corruption, like the ancient Greeks and Romans. We have likewise a good and gracious King of our own chusing,

chasing, whose Interest it is to maintain our just Rights and Liberties, as the only firm and lasting Foundation of his Throne. But the open Contempt of all Virtue, Honour and Honesty, which is lately grown so common amongst us, and hath infected Multitudes of all Ranks and Professions, affords us but a melancholy Prospect. These Distempers of the State have, indeed, been creeping upon us by Degrees, for several Reigns past; especially since the Restoration of *Charles II.* but they never grew rampant and bare-faced till many Years afterwards. *Corruption*, in particular, was at first industriously conceal'd, and solemnly deny'd; but it is now become the avow'd Doctrine of the Court Party, and they are so far from being ashamed of it, that they glory in it, and look upon all Men as Madmen or Idiots, who make any Scruple of following their Example. The common Story of the old Man's Advice to his Son, about getting Money, is grown the prevailing Maxim of the present Age; tho' there are some Men so thoroughly depraved and abandon'd, that rather than endeavour to get Money honestly, they will make use of any other Means to obtain the same End.

Boroughs are publicly put up to Auction, or expos'd to Sale by *Incub of Candle*, like other Commodities, and consequently become the Property of those, who bid most, let them be Friends or Foes, Neighbours or Strangers. If we expostulate with the *small Vulgar*, upon this Account, they justify themselves by the Practice of the *Great*; and reply, with too much Reason, that since *their Betters*; with all their Riches, seem to think it no Crime or Scandal to go to Market with their Votes above, it is very hard that they, who are poor Fellows, should not be allow'd to make a Penny of their Votes below. If we go farther with them, and even demonstrate that it is their true Interest to favour *those Gentlemen*, who have made several Attempts to ease them of the most burdensome Taxes, they shake their Heads, and ask us with a Sneer what Good *those Gentlemen* have done them, for above 20 Years past? It is in vain to argue with them, upon this Point, and shew them who it is that hath, from Time to Time, obstructed this necessary Relief; for when they have once tasted the enchanting Cup of Corruption, they shut their Ears, like the deaf Adder, to the Voice of Reason, and prefer a little present, sordid Gain, to the permanent Advantages, which would naturally result from a just, upright, and disinterested Behaviour, at such a critical Conjunction as the present, upon which all our Liberties, and the very Being of the Constitution depend.—I will not pretend exactly to ascertain the particular Period, when this destructive Influence was first employ'd to corrupt both the collective Body of the People and their Representatives; nor by what Gradations

it arrived at its present Height. But that the Case is so, no Man of common Modesty can possibly deny; since it is publicly justify'd by one Party, as a necessary Expedient of Government, and a commendable Piece of *Parliamentary Craft*, without any other Apology than that *their Adversaries* would do the same, if they should ever come into Power; and that the present Opposition was occasion'd by nothing but Ambition, Envy, Resentment, and Disappointment.—If this Charge be true, which God only can determine, it is a melancholy Instance of the Depravity of the present Age, and portends no Good to Futurity. But I hope it is false, and that there will be some righteous Men found, in the Day of Trial, to save our *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* from utter Destruction.

An excellent Law was made, several Years ago, for the more effectual preventing of Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, enforced with the Sanction of a solemn Oath pecuniary Penalties, Incapacities, and corporal Punishment. But all these Ties, both upon Body and Soul, are mere Cobwebs to a Man, who hath chrown off all Regard to Conscience, and common Decency. The Oath, enjoin'd by this Act, is look'd upon by some of these profligate Wretches as only a mere Matter of Form, without any binding Obligation, like a Custom-house Oath, and taken accordingly, without any Scruple or Remorse. There are others again, who represent all Restraints upon the free Exercise of Corruption as an unwarrantable Abridgement of their Liberties; and we have lately heard of one *Borough*, where the major Part of the Electors enter'd into a Combination not to chuse any Man, who should presume, either by himself or his Friends, to put the Oath to any one of them. But the most shameless of all are those, who, like sage Hudibras, lay all the Guilt of Perjury, incurr'd by this Act, upon the Legislature, who made it; which is just as much to the Purpose as if a common Highwayman, or any other Felon should charge the Judges and Jury with Murder, for putting the Laws of the Land in Execution, and bringing him to the Gallows.

As to the pecuniary Penalties, inflicted by this Law upon all Offenders against it, they have too many Ways of screening themselves from Justice; or, in case any of them should happen to be detected, they may be indemnify'd by the Corruptor; and I am told that it is no uncommon Thing for a corrupted Returning Officer to insist upon such Terms for his own Security.

One would think that no Man of common Prudence would run the Hazard of forfeiting his Franchise, and being disabled to vote at any future Election, besides the infamous Punishment that attends wilful and corrupt Perjury.

jury, for a few loose Guineas; but the Difficulty of proving the *Fact* in a legal Manner, together with the Certainty of being countenanced and supported by *those*, whose Interest and Safety depend upon *Corruption*, emboldens them to such a Degree, that they laugh at *Oaths*, *Penalties*, *Incapacities*, and *corporal Punishments*.

One Verdict, indeed, was obtain'd, some Years ago, upon *this Act*; but a Method was afterwards found out to set it aside, I know not how, and to prevent its being made a *Precedent*. From that Time it became almost a *dead Letter*, and is but little more regarded at present than divers other *obsolete Statutes*.

It must be a painful Consideration to all Men, who have any Concern for the Good of their Country, or one Spark of Religion left unextinguish'd in their Breasts, that *Corruption* should be grown to such an exorbitant Height, and that *publick Virtue*, or *Patriotism*, is become the fashionable Topick of *Ridicule*. It is impossible to compute how many Thousands of People may, in all Probability, have been already dip'd over Head and Ears in *Perjury*, rather than lose the dirty Wages of *Corruption*; and as there is a constant Progression from *one Vice* to another of a blacker Dye, what may not be apprehended from such a contagious Spirit of *Venality* and *Prostitution*? The little, young Villain, who begins with *picking of Pockets*, or *robbing of Henroasts*, commonly rises by Degrees into an *Houfbreaker*, an *Highwayman*, or a *Murderer*. Just in the same Manner, an *Electer*, who hath once sold his *Vote*, the most distinguishing Privilege of an *English Freeman*, for a little corrupt *Lucre*, and perjured himself to bind the Bargain, may in Time come to think all Kinds and Degrees of *Perjury* and *base Whimsicality*; such as swearing a Man out of his *Estate*, or even his *Life*, for a valuable Consideration.—In short, it is impossible for any Country to prosper, notwithstanding all its natural Advantages, or for any private Man to be safe, however honest, whilst those flagitious Crimes, *Corruption* and *Perjury*, are suffer'd to go unpunish'd. A State of *Anarchy* and *Confusion* is infinite'y preferable to any Form of Government, which is supported by *these diabolical Engines*.

Let this suffice as to *Corruption* and *Perjury*, those modern Cankers of the State.—*Luxury* is a Vice of a much older Date; especially amongst *Ministers* and *great Men*; but it is now spread, by their evil Example, like a Leprosy, over the whole Body politick, from the Court down to the Cottage; insomuch that many *Noblemen* and *Gentlemen* of the largest Estates, and in the most profitable Employments, render themselves as necessitous as those in much inferior Circumstances; and we may almost judge from the *Value of their Money*, how much they are in Debt. This

is the fatal Root of *Corruption*, and fits them for the Purposes of a *Minister*, whom they might otherwise despise and abhor.—We have had too many Instances of this within a few Years past; and if some Reformation be not speedily brought about, it must end in the Subversion of all our *Liberties*, and the entire Change of our *Constitution*.

A I know very well that all these Apprehensions will be call'd mere Bugbears, and the sickly Dreams of Imagination by *those*, who prostitute themselves for Hire in this iniquitous Manner, and partake of the publick Plunder. But it must give every independent Briton the most sensible Concern and Uneasiness to see his Country o'erwhelm'd with such a Deluge of the most enormous Vices, and to hear them publicly justify'd, both in Print and Conversation, as good and laudable State-Policy, in order to suppress the Spirit of Faction and Sedition. But can any Condition be worse than a total Dissolution of Morals, and a Contempt of every Thing sacred? *Faction* and *Sedition*, as all Opposition to *Ministers* is call'd, have often been the Means of saving whole Nations from Ruin. But I may defy any body to prove that *Luxury*, *Corruption* and *Perjury* ever produced any Good. I shall therefore conclude with repeating my Exhortation to those of my Countrymen, who have not yet given their Votes, nor sold their Birth-right for a Mess of *Pottage*, to chuse *those Gentlemen*, who never bow'd down their Heads to *Baal*, and will heartily concur in any Measures to stop the present lamentable Degeneracy of the Age.

Daily Gazetteer, N^o 1827.

REPLY to the Craftsman, about Lord Danby. (See p. 192.)

E I HAD asserted, that the Whole of this Affair was a Contrivance of *Montague's*, that the Treasurer was drawn into it; that it was a Trap laid for his Ruin; the Craftsman says this is not proved: And he thinks to invalidate all that I have asserted, by producing a Scrap of a Letter without Date, wherein the Treasurer writes to the Ambassador *Montague*, about the Pension the King was to have from France. I shall first observe, that this Letter was dated, London, March 25, 1678, O.S. I have before me a Letter from Mr. *Montague* directed to the King, dated, Paris, June 21, 1677, N.S. in which are these Words. "I am sure the Greatness of the King of France is supported only by your Majesty's Connivance at what he does, and the good Will-*Christendom* sees you have for him. The Advantage he has by it, even in Point of Revenue by his Conquests, does amount to 5 Times the Sum you now have from him. And tho' After-games

are hard to play, I think I understand this Court so well, and if you care to have it done, I am confident I could get you, by Agreement, a Million of Livres a Year to be paid whilst the War shall last, and four Millions after the Peace shall be made; I mean, Sir, over and above what you have from France now: And if you approve of my Proposition, be pleased to write me 5 or 6 Lines with your Commands and Directions, and I doubt not but to give you a good Account of it. Since I do not know which of your Ministers you are willing to trust, I have taken the Boldness to give yourself this Trouble; and if you trust any, I had rather it were my Lord Treasurer, because I think he is the best Judge of such an Affair; and except you shall think it for your Service, that he sees this Letter, I humbly beg my Sister may see it burnt."

The Craftsman urges, that what I have advanced is a good round Charge upon the *Russels, Cavendishes, Whartons, &c.* who were the chief and most earnest Prosecutors of that Impeachment. I will say nothing in Answer to this myself, but I will tell you what the Earl of *Danby*, when Duke of *Leeds*, said to it himself in Print, which was never contradicted: "As to every Article of the Charge laid against me in Parliament in Dec. 1678, many, both of the Lords and Commons, who had then voted against me, such as Lord *Russel*, and Sir *Anthony Capel*, who was the Man that carried up that Impeachment to the Lords, have owned to me their being led into great Mistakes concerning me, and that they were sorry for it, and that many others were then undeceived as well as themselves. Besides which, the Malice of my Accusation did so manifestly appear in that Article, wherein I was charged to be popishly affected, that I dare swear there was not one of my Accusers that did then believe that Article against me. The Duke of *Devonshire* also, when we were Partners in the secret Trust about the Revolution, and who did meet me and Mr. *John D'Arcy* for that Purpose at a Town call'd *Whittington* in *Derbyshire*, did, in the Presence of the said Mr. *D'Arcy*, make a voluntary Acknowledgment of the great Mistakes he had been led into about me, and said, that both he and most others were entirely convinced of their Error."

Craftsman, May 23. N^o 777.

Of the present ELECTIONS.

I HAVE now the Pleasure of congratulating my Readers upon the Election of four able, worthy, and independent Gentlemen, to represent the City of *London* in the ensuing Parliament. It is well known, what mean Artifices were used, and what various Kinds

of Influence were employed to divert the honest, unbias'd Liverymen from their natural Sentiments, and what they thought their Duty at this important Crisis. But no Considerations whatsoever could prevail upon them to sacrifice their Consciences, and the publick Good, to any private Interest. On the contrary, they continued firm in their Resolution, and chose their whole List by a Majority of above two to one; which will do them immortal Honour, and hath set their Adversaries in a most ridiculous Light. (See p. 252.)

I ought, perhaps, to have first taken Notice of the Election for the County of *Middlesex*, which was carry'd without any Opposition; tho' one of the ministerial News-Writers hath done Mr. *Barker* the Honour to mention him as a Candidate, and endeavour'd to make People in the distant Parts of *England* believe, that the other two Gentlemen were elected only by a considerable Majority.

The ancient and populous Borough of *Southwark* have likewise re-chosen one of their former Members, whose Conduct in the late Parliament gave them the highest Satisfaction, and have added another Gentleman to him, under a full Persuasion that he will pay the same just Regard to their true Interest.

Nor ought the worthy, independent Inhabitants of the ancient City and Liberty of *Westminster* to be pass'd over, without honourable Mention; for tho' the Court-Candidates have been declared duly elected by the Returning-Officer, it is generally agreed, that had it not been for the unprecedented Manner of closing the Poll, Admiral *Vernon* and Mr. *Edwyn* would have been chosen by a great Majority, notwithstanding the vast Influence on one Side, and the numerous Disadvantages, which the other lay under. Nay, it is even firmly believed, that they had a considerable Majority at the Close of the Poll, if all the bad Voters were to be struck off; such as the Inhabitants of the King's *Meuse* and *Stable-Yards*, *Scotland-Yard*, the *Duchy of Lancaster*, Watermen on *Surrey* Side of the River, menial Servants and Soldiers, &c.

Several Persons of the ministerial Party, came to poll two or three Times over, and perhaps some of them were actually poll'd, tho' without any Qualification to vote at all; particularly a certain Domestick of one of the Court-Candidates, who was publicly detected in voting the second or third Time, and received a suitable Rebuff for his Impudence and abandon'd Prostitution.

It is likewise said that several Foreigners were poll'd, without having been ever naturalized; which is directly contrary to Law; and we have been lately told of one Man, who fairly confess'd, upon Examination, that he did not pay *Scot and Lot*, and yet was poll'd.

Their

Their next Recourse was to their old Game of Mobbing and Rioting, which they begun with a manifest Design of turning it to their Advantage, if they had not pitch'd upon a more summary Method of gaining their Ends, after a thousand other little Tricks had fail'd them. This Expedient, as I said before, was by closing the Books on a sudden, without giving any previous Notice, whilst a great Number of Voters attended, and Multitudes of others remain'd unpoll'd, without any Suspicion of such an extraordinary and abrupt Declaration.

However, there is one legal Method still left to assert the just Rights of the free Voters, and do Justice to the much-injured Candidates; that is, by a Complaint to Parliament of an undue Election and Return; and a voluntary Subscription having been open'd for that Purpose, it cannot be doubted that great Numbers of Gentlemen and others, who have the Freedom of Elections, the Independency of Parliament, and the Prosperity of the whole Kingdom truly at Heart, will contribute their Assistance towards carrying on so just and necessary a Cause. But whatever may be the Event of this Affair, the glorious Stand and Struggle, which hath been made for the Preservation of Liberty, is a plain Proof that the City of *Westminster* is not so slavishly dependent upon Courts and great Men, as it hath been generally imagined by People on both Sides.

The vast, extended *Ridings of Yorkshire*, which are more like a Province, or Principality, than a County, have given us another agreeable Proof that the contagious Influence of Corruption and Servility, two inseparable Companions, have not yet infected the Minds of the substantial and independent Freeholders; for they have return'd two worthy Members, without any Opposition, one of whom hath already given them the most ample Testimony of his Integrity, by his Behaviour in the late Parliament; and they may safely rely upon the other, having been train'd up in the Principles of Liberty, by the Precepts and Example of his noble Father.

The County of *Kent* hath likewise chosen two Gentlemen in the same Interest, without any Opposition; which is the more remarkable, considering the prodigious Influence of the Court there; for besides three Royal Docks, and two Cathedrals, the greatest Part of the County is surrounded with Cinque-Ports, Sea-Ports, and a numerous Army of Land-Officers, Sea-Officers, Customhouse-Officers, Excisemen, &c. who not only swarm round the Coasts, but are scatter'd up and down the Inland Parts of that County. This complicated Influence used to be reckon'd such a dead Weight upon the independent Freeholders, that it was thought impracticable to withstand it, and the *Kentish* Elections

have commonly vary'd according to the different Turns at Court; but the two last Elections have demonstrated that the true old Spirit of Liberty, for which that County hath been so long famous, is not yet quite subdued by ministerial Power, nor enervated by ministerial Craft, Influence and Corruption.

A Most of the County Elections for this Part of *Great Britain* will be soon over; and if we may put any Confidence in private Intelligence, or the publick Appearances of Things at present, the Majority of these Elections will run in Favour of the *Country* Interest, as they did at the last general Election. This is the only Criterion, by which we can form any true Judgment of the natural Sense of the People.

But, on the other hand, nothing can be more impertinent and ridiculous than to collect the general Sense of the People from the infamous Elections and Returns of those little, beggarly, corrupt Boroughs, which Bishop *Burnet* too justly calls the rotten Part of our Constitution, and are chiefly inhabited by a Parcel of loose, idle Fellows, who neglect their Families, and prefer Poaching, Pilfering, and Sheep-stealing, or any other vagabond Course of Life, to the comfortable Maintenance of honest Labour and Industry. It is no Wonder that such Miscreants as these should be always ready to sell themselves, as it were at an Auction, to the highest Bidder, in Defiance of Law, Conscience, and Oaths. They look upon a Vote as a marketable Commodity, which they have a Right to dispose of, as they please, to the best Advantage; and are so far from being ashamed of it, or endeavouring to conceal it, that they proclaim it aloud in the Streets, and justify themselves, with too much Reason sometimes, by the Practice and Example of their Superiors. I could name one Borough, in particular, where this Argument was openly pleaded in express Terms; and another, where the *Bribery and Corruption Act* being urged to the Electors by one of the Candidates, the major Part of them laugh'd in his Face, and told him very frankly, that let the Parliament make as many Laws as they pleased against Bribery and Corruption, they would have Money from somebody or other, tho' they were sure of being ruin'd by the Consequences.

This notorious Prostitution of too many little Boroughs is an Evil, which hath been complain'd of by all Parties in their Turns, and certainly stands very much in Need of some effectual Remedy. But the Danger of tampering with such Things, and the mischievous Turn, which Men in Power may give to the most wholesome Alterations, have long prevented any such Attempt, and may probably entail this Evil upon us, till it hath entirely destroy'd the Constitution.

DICKY

DICKY and COCK-EYE. *An Epitaphium on the happy Nuptials of TAFFY DICK.*

As happy Dick was sung
First-time by *Cambro-Briton*,
With emulation sung
I'll sing the luck thou'st hit on.

Happy Dick!

For ambition and applause
He wedded three times twenty,
A more substantial cause
Join'd thee to one of sev'nty.

Happy, &c.

Tho' weightier much in coin
She prov'd unto her lover,
In years and breeding thine
Has much th' advantage of her.

Happy, &c.

Tho' long by ev'ry flirt
Thou hast been mock'd and jilted,
And as their publick sport
With flouts and jeers been pelted;

Happy, &c.

Yet hast thou met at last
(As tow'rs the grave she moulders)
A belle who has a taste
For thy strong back and shoulders.

Happy, &c.

See what's to persevere,
And be for years so steady;
'Tis a maxim 'mong the fair,
Faint heart ne'er won fair lady.

Happy, &c.

By flattery maids are won,
Yet is not so a widow;
'Twas not with breeches on
Æneas got old Dido.

Happy, &c.

Tho' her first no conj'r was
Yet by the world 'tis reckon'd,
She now a conj'r has
In her well-chosen second.

Happy, &c.

Thou'st wisely hit the white,
In gaining of this beauty;
Thou'st profit—she delight;
Keep well up to thy duty.

Happy, &c.

Two thousand pounds at once
For one night's lodging merely,
Shews that thou art no dunce,
But hast done thy bus'ness fairly.

Happy, &c.

'Twill clear thy heavy debts
And mortgages on M——,
So we shall fear no letts
From catchpoles more to nab us.

Happy, &c.

Then qualify'd and clear,
Thou may'st, at next election,
With safer conscience swear,
Than lost time for protection.

Happy, &c.

No more by abject ways,
Bows, cringes and grimaces,
Five solid guineas raise
To get excisemen places.

Happy, &c.

To pawn shall go no more
The silver-hilted whyniard,
Nor sha't thou run a-score
Up at the Royal Vineyard.

Happy, &c.

No longer shall the pay
Of vile corruption win ye,
To sell thy yea and nay
For twice a week a guinea.

Happy, &c.

No more for *Hess*—n force,
Or 'gainst the famous *place-bill*,
Or for th' *ex*—e, much worse,
Shalt give thy vote for a spill.

Happy, &c.

No more betray thy trust,
Thy party and superiors;
Nor for a livelihood lust
To kiss Sir *Bob*'s posteriors.

Happy, &c.

But th' old good cause resume
And tenets of thy ancients,
And voting squint tow'rs *R—me*
According to thy conscience.

Happy, &c.

And if *G*——n house
Should oust thee, never sorrow;
Since in thy loving spouse
Thou'st got a better borough.

Happy, &c.

Hers thou'lt maintain for e'er,
Unrival'd, unmoistest;
Nor but at *Ombre* fear
That thou can'st e'er be *beast*id.

Happy, &c.

Tho' at thy choice a laugh
Be rais'd by ev'ry grinner,
'Tis better e'en by half
To laugh and be a winner.

Happy, &c.

Let 'em criticize her looks,
Her am'rous leer and cock-eye;
Much ill betide who mocks
What is to thee so lucky.

Happy, &c.

Then haste, set wide the road,
If down to *W*——les thou'st have her,
For her coach to thy abode,
Where coach before was never.

Happy, &c.

Shew all thy vast demesne,
Which will to wonder wake her,
To see the extensive scene
Let for a groat an acre.

Happy, &c.

Where thy grand-fire's self has foil'd,
As we read of *Cato Major*,
Whose hands the plow ne'er foil'd,
For this will sure engage her.

Happy, &c.

Where thou may'st too retire,
Like another *Cincinnatus*;
Cut *gawerge* and *mawon* for fire,
And plant out thy potatoes.

Happy, &c.

Whilst thy looks so green and pure
Shall be the care of madam;
A lovelier couple sure
Was never known since *Adam*.

Happy Dick!

*The DISCARDED LOVER. A SONG. To the
Tune of, Blow, blow, thou Winter Wind.*

GO, go, false woman, go;
Thou to thy cost shalt know
How vain is all thy pride:
Soon like the flow'rs of May
Thy charms shall droop away,
And I thy pow'r deride.
Quit, quit thy arts, for shame;
On honour build thy fame,
Nor truth in love disdain:
For know, proud, haughty maid,
Such triumphs are repaid
With piercing grief and pain.

WILL. CARELESS.

ANSWER. By a LADY.

GO, cruel false one, go,
Thy sighs and tears shall show,
How vain are all thy arts,
Serv'd justly, and in kind,
No mercy shalt thou find,
For tricking female hearts.
Thy practices give o'er,
And play the knave no more,
But follow native truth.
'Tis this alone has charms;
'Tis truth secures from harms,
And best adorns our youth.

*An ASTROLOGICAL BALLAD.
Calculated for the Meridian of LONDON.*

COME ye belles and ye beaux, come ye
simple and wise, [skies;
Come ye wits, who can put little faith in the
Come ye courtiers in place, and patriots who
're out, [bout.
Here listen and learn how all things come a-
Attend to my ditty, my ditty shall shew [low.
That the planets above govern all things be-
Old maids with a sigh, of all sweethearts for-
lorn,
Will say, they are under a curst planet born;
And the young, when found out that they've
once went astray, [than they,
Cry, their stars are, alas! more to blame far
Sure all then, in pity, o'th' sex will allow
The planets above, govern women below.
The poor, not licens'd—or licens'd and damn'd;
The town 'stead of satire, with mere dulness
shamm'd;
The actor or actress, when hiss'd by the pit;
The master, the player, the critick, and wit;
All to the same cause, their ill fortune will
owe,
And curse the dull planets that govern below.
The patriot, whose virtue all int'rest denies,
For events in the state has recourse to the skies;

Revolutions of planets he watches each day,
And thinks some kind star will soon bring
him in play:

But, if still deceiv'd, thus his passion he rules;
Let the fortunate stars attend upon fools.

When the scheme of a courtier successful ap-
pears,

With rapture, in secret, he blesses his stars;
And well may he bless them, for in vain wou'd
he find [kind:

All his wisdom and art, if his stars were not
But his scheme, if successful, he'd have ye to
know,

'Tis not he, but the planets that govern below.

Thus in love, or in policy, folly or wit,
To some lucky star, we our fortune submit:
Then who'd not approve of the plan of our
song;

For be ever so right, or ever so wrong,
Th' event from ourselves, or the stars may a-
rise; [if we're wise,

From the stars, if we're fools; from ourselves,

To CLOE in the North. An EPISTLE.

DENY'D thy dear presence (oh dreadful
decree!)

I write now, my Cloe, and write it to thee:
To thee the best-natur'd sweet she that I know,
Thou fairest of all the fair charmers below.
Yet possible were but the wish of thy friend,
No letter I'd send thee, myself, child, I'd send.
Those smooth-loving fingers the scroll that suf-
trin; [frain;

That bosom, which cannot from heaving re-
Shou'd find an employment more fruitful of
charms,

I'd pant in thy eyes, and I'd melt in thy arms.
Since such then my passion, provoke not my
smart, [heart!

Thy wishes oh give me! oh—give me thy
On the brink of destruction, alive but by hope,
Thou frown'st, and I die without dagger or rope.

PHILO-CLOE.

REMARKS ON PAMELA. By a PRUDE.

SO moving is Pamela's tale,
And innocently told,
That I believe it cannot fail

To please both young and old.

Yet, I must own, it stirs my gall,

To think of Master B—

And, to be sure, good women all,
Will censure him like me.

Is naked bed to hold her fast!

While she did roar and bawl!

And then to leave her at the last!

When she had ceas'd to squall!

He might be sure that she wou'd cry,

And seem t' oppose his will,

Whilst odious Mrs. Jewkes was by,

And yet the girl laid still.

The

The man, it seems, was frighted fore
At her pretended saint,
So when he might have had a whore,
He took her for a saint.

Pray, Sir, said she, before you go,
What mischief have you done?
His spirits were so very low,
That he said,—truly none.

The question sure was meant a joke,
Her scorn of him to show,
Else, why desire to hear that spoke
Which she could not but know.

However, pardon he did crave,
For making such a fuss;
Her hand unto him then she gave,
Which he vouchsaf'd to buss.

Tho' odd the question may be thought,
For one so very modest;
Yet that she wou'd forgive the fault,
To me seems much the oddest.

A familiar ODE to a FRIEND. In Imitation of HORACE.

WHEN will the happy *Western* gale
Drive on the ship with swelling sail,
The ship by *Vernon* sent to bring,
Joy to his country and his king?

That you and I, with hearty souls,
Again may o'er the flowing bowls
Drink to his health, record his name,
And pay just tribute to his fame.

Not such, as offer'd was of late,
To make him a mean tool of state;
Not to his name false incense raise,
And satirize with mimic praise;
But such as to that man is due,
Who to his honest purpose true, [send;
Dare speak his thoughts, those thoughts de-
To freedom and her friends, a friend.

O *Western* gale! bring on the day,
When still we shall new tribute pay,
For *Vernon's* acts, more glorious seen,
For *Britain's* fame at *Carthage*:
Prepare, my friend, the smiling bowl;
Prepare t' unbend thy honest soul:
Augusta's sons, without mean art,
Shall pay the tribute of the heart.

A HYMN to the AUTHOR of the UNIVERSE.

HALL, glorious God! thou goodness' source,
And pow'r's eternal spring,
Inspire my grateful breast with praise,
My Father, Saviour, King.

Thy mercy knows no finite bounds,
But unconfin'd and free
Illumines the bright orbs of heav'n,
And fills immensity.

Wide roll the seas, and the sun gilds
With light each distant shore;
Thy goodness will for ever flow,
And shine when time's no more.

L 12

Who shall before thy hallow'd throne
Ingu'ph'd in pleasure stand,
Ascend thy holy mount, and reign
In the true promis'd land?

That happy man whose raptur'd mind
Is with thy pardon blest,
In whose tof'd soul thy potent word
Has spoke the waves to rest;

He shall behold thy face, and drown'd
In floods of glory gaze,
Strain ev'ry faculty in love,
And fill the heav'ns with praise.

J. DINSDALE.

On Admiral VERNON's Success in AMERICA. An EPIGRAM.

TO humble *Spain* three naval heroes born,
Drake, *Raleigh*, *Vernon*, *Britain's* isle adorn;

The first in courage and success surpass,
The next in well-plann'd schemes; in both the last:
Drake had all honour valour could obtain,
But *Raleigh* fell a sacrifice to *Spain*:
With happier fate we see our *Vernon* rise,
As *Drake* courageous, and as *Raleigh* wise:
The *berce's* and the *patric's* worth to shew,
Heav'n made the third, and join'd the former two.

A RURAL ODE.

WHEN *Aurora* gilds the morning
With a sweet, delightful ray;
Blooming flowers the fields adorning,
In the charming month of *May*;

Then how pleasant and contented
Lives the lowly country clown,
In the valley, unfrequented
By the knaves who crowd the town!

With the early lark awaking,
He enjoys the chearful day;
Labour ev'ry hour partaking,
Whistling thought and care away.

Nature all his toil befriending,
Of her treasure he's possessor;
Health and peace his life attending;
Is the monarch half so blest?

Birds his list'ning ear enchanting,
Verdant hills and dales his sight;
Nothing to his sense is wanting
Which can give him true delight.

Love, with innocence combining,
His unsettled heart alarms;
Like the flowers in garlands twining,
Sweetly various in its charms.

Happy clown! who thus possesses
Pleasure unalloy'd with strife.
Wisdom nothing more caresses
Than the bumble wale of life.

Riches knaves delight in gaining,
Grandeur is by fools admir'd.
All that wise men with obtaining
Is, to live and die retir'd.

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.



WHEN his Majesty put an End to the Session last Month, he gave the Royal Assent to An Act for granting his Majesty one Million out of the Sinking Fund, &c.—and for giving further Time for the Payment of Duties omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.—An Act for the Encouragement and Increase of Seamen, and for the better and speedier Manning of his Majesty's Fleet.—An Act for opening a Trade to and from *Persia thro' Russia*.—An Act for preserving the publick Roads.—An Act for surveying the chief Ports and Headlands on the Coast of *Great Britain and Ireland*, and the Islands and Plantations thereto belonging, in order to the more exact Determination of the Longitude and Latitude thereof.—An Act for restraining and preventing several unwarrantable Schemes and Undertakings in the *American Colonies and Plantations*.—An Act to enable the Commissioners for building a Bridge at *Westminster* to raise a further Sum towards finishing the said Bridge, &c.—An Act to enable *Thomas Smith, Esq;* Lord of the Manor of *Farlington in Hampshire*, to supply the Town of *Portsmouth* and Parts adjacent, with good and wholesome Water, at his own proper Cost and Charges.

On *April 28*, at a Court of Aldermen at *Guildhall* (*Sir John Barnard* being in the Chair, in the Room of the Lord Mayor, who was indisposed) the Affair of the Election of an Alderman for *Broad-street Ward* was again brought on, and after some Time spent in debating, both Parties agreed, that the Return to the *Mandamus* brought by each Party should be, that they were not duly elected; so that the Determination of the Election must be tried in the Court of *King's Bench*. (See p. 203, 204.) At the same Time Alderman *Willmot* desir'd Leave to resign his *Gown*.

SATURDAY, May 2.

Was held a Chapter of the Most Noble Order of the Garter at *St. James's*, when the Chancellor, by the Sovereign's Command, declar'd his Most Serene Highness *Frederick, Duke of Saxe-Gotha*, duly elected one of the Knights Companions of the said Order.

MONDAY, 4.

John Carr and *Andrew Macmanus* were executed at *Tyburn*. *William Robinson*, just as

he was going into the Cart, receiv'd his Majesty's Reprieve, in order to be transported for 14 Years. (See p. 203.)

WEDNESDAY, 6.

His Majesty having appointed the same Lords Justices as last Year, (see p. 244 of our *MAG.* for that Year,) set out for *Hanover*. He went thro' Bridge in his Barge, attended by several other Barges, in which were a great many Persons of Quality, in order to embark on board the *Cardina Yacht*. The Guns were fir'd at the Tower, as his Majesty pass'd by. He landed at *Helvoetsluys* on Friday, and arriv'd at *Hanover* the Tuesday following.

MONDAY, 11.

Mr. Sidney and *Mr. Lyle* were brought to the Court of *King's Bench* to receive Judgment, for a Conspiracy, in defrauding several Persons with false and loaded Dice, at a *Masquerade*, some Time since; when the Court sentenced them to stand one Hour on the Pillory, over-against the *Opera-House* in the *Hay-Market*, and to be imprison'd one Year without Bail or Mainprize. (See *Lond. Mag.* 1740, p. 350.)

TUESDAY, 12.

The Poll ended at *Guildhall* for Members of Parliament for the City of *London*, when the *Vintners-Hall* List carried it by a great Majority, the Numbers standing thus, viz.

For the Rt. Hon. <i>Daniel Lambert, Esq;</i> Lord Mayor	3217
<i>Sir John Barnard</i>	3769, who was in both Lists.
<i>Sir Rob. Godscall</i>	3143
Ald. <i>Heatcote</i>	3322
Admiral <i>Vernon</i>	1175
<i>Sir Edw. Bellamy</i>	1311
Alderman <i>Perry</i>	1710

Whereupon the Sheriffs, the next Day, declar'd the first four Gentlemen duly elected. On which Occasion the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor, *Sir Robert Godscall*, and Alderman *Heatcote*, (*Sir John Barnard* being absent) severally address'd themselves to the Liverymen, thank'd them for the great Honour conferr'd upon them, assur'd them of their Resolutions to oppose all pernicious Schemes to the utmost of their Power; to make the Interest of their Country the Standard of their Actions, and to have a particular Regard to the Promotion of Trade and Commerce, in which they and their Fellow Citizens were so largely concern'd. After which the following Paper of Instructions was deliver'd to them, viz.

To the Right Hon. Daniel Lambert, Esq; Lord Mayor, Sir John Barnard, Knt. Sir Robert Godichall, Knt. and George Heathcote, Esq; Aldermen.

WE, the Citizens of London, who have cheerfully elected you to serve us in Parliament, and thereby committed to your Trust the Safety, Liberty, Property, and Privileges of ourselves and Posterities, think it our Duty, as it is our undoubted Right, to acquaint you with what we desire and expect from you, in discharge of the great Confidence we repose in you, and what we take to be your Duty, as our Representatives.

1. As standing Armies have ever been esteemed burdensome to the Subject, and dangerous to Liberty, and as the most sacred and valuable Privileges of *Englishmen* have lately suffer'd the most outrageous Insult and Violence at a neighbouring Election, where, after the most unwarrantable and illegal Return of two Representatives for the ensuing Parliament, the military Force was employed to protect and support the returning Officer, to the manifest Violation of Justice, and in open Defiance of a Law, which expressly commands, That no Man, by Force of Arms, shall disturb the Freedom of Elections; we most earnestly recommend, that by a constant and vigorous Opposition to all standing Armies in Times of Peace, you would preserve this Nation from a Calamity which has already been fatal to the Liberties of every Kingdom round us, and which we at this Day are beginning to feel.

2. When we call to remembrance the iniquitous Project of extending the Laws of Exchequer, over the greatest Part of the Traders of this Kingdom, we require and insist that you would strenuously oppose any such Attempts for the future; and also promote the entire Repeal, or, at least, Mitigation, of those Laws, in Behalf of Numbers who are already subjected to their Severity.

3. When we reflect on the Danger of entrusting Power too long in the same Hands, when we consider how often, in former Times, the Liberty of this Country has been sacrificed and sold, by long-continued Parliaments; and that a frequent Recourse to their Constituents, the People, is a certain and necessary Check to bad Measures, and worse Intentions; we require you to prosecute, in the most vigorous Manner, a Repeal of the Septennial Act, and to restore the salutary Form of Triennial Parliaments, as the principal Means of securing the Rights and supporting the Dignity of a free Nation.

4. But as nothing can effectually secure the Freedom of our happy Constitution, except an uncorrupt and independent Representative of the People, we insist on your utmost Endeavours to procure a proper Bill for reducing

and limiting the Number of Placemen in the House of Commons, especially as so many Gentlemen in a Situation of manifest Dependence were known to have Seats in the last Parliament.

5. As at this Juncture we are engag'd in a just and necessary War, and consequently large Supplies will be requisite for the publick Service, we make no doubt but you will cheerfully and effectually enable his Most Gracious Majesty to vindicate the Wrongs of your Country, and chastise an insolent Enemy; but at the same Time we desire that, in granting all such Aids and Supplies, you will constantly observe the ancient Practice of Parliaments, nor deviate from the genuine Form of the Constitution; that you will make a strict Examination into every Account of the national Expence; and that you will firmly withhold your Approbation of any Convention, or Treaty of Peace, which shall not put his Majesty in Possession of some Country or Place of sufficient Strength and Importance to restrain his Enemies from all future Insults, and continue to latest Posterity a Monument of his victorious Arms.

And lastly, As to what more particularly concerns ourselves, we do expect from and require you, that you do persist, with unwearied Diligence, until you shall prevail, that such Bills pass into Laws as shall restrain the exorbitant Powers that are pretended to reside in the Court of Aldermen of this City, to the manifest Diminution, if not to the total Destruction of those Privileges and Rights which were formerly inherent in the Citizens of London; particularly that you endeavour to get a Repeal or Explanation of that Law which has been interpreted to extend, even to the Formation of every Question that can be proposed in the Common Council of this City, by which the Citizens of London may be, and, as we apprehend, will be prevented from applying to the King or Legislature, in their corporate Capacity, how much soever their Case may require the Royal Protection or Parliamentary Cognizance.

SATURDAY, 16.

The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when John Lupton for Burglary, Elizabeth Bennet for the Murder of her Bastard Child, Thomas Ruby for Burglary, Francis Pigget, John Johnson, and Richard Baker for robbing on the Highway, receiv'd Sentence of Death.

SUNDAY, 17.

This Day Capt. Laws, Commander of the Spence Sloop, arriv'd, with Letters to his Grace the Duke of Newcastle, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, from Vice-Admiral Vernon, and Brigadier Wentworth, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in the West-Indies, dated from the Harbour of Cartagena, the 1st of April, which gave the following Account.

On

On Feb. 25, Vice-Admiral *Vernon* weighed Anchor from *Irisb Bay* in *Hispánia*, with the Squadron and Transports under his Command, being in all 124 Sail; and on March 4, in the Evening, they anchored in *Playa Granda* to Windward of the Town of *Cartagena*.

On the 9th Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, (who was appointed to command the Attack of the Forts and Batteries on *Terra Bomba*) moved forward with his Division; and Vice-Admiral *Vernon* weighed, and moved after him with his Division, and all the Transports, leaving Mr. *Lestock* with his Division at Anchor behind. The small Fort of *Chamba* fired a few Guns, but was deserted as soon as the Ship posted there could take her Station and begin to fire. At the *Fascine Battery* erected between that and the Forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, the Enemy had not yet had Time for getting any Guns mounted, so there was no Fire from thence; and the *Norfolk*, *Russel*, and *Shrewsbury*, being anchored very close under the said Forts of *St. Jago* and *St. Philip*, made so warm a Fire, that in less than an Hour they drove the Enemy out of them, and the same Evening our Grenadiers made a Descent under the Walls of those Forts, and took Possession of them.

The 10th, the two Regiments of *Harrison* and *Wentworth*, and the six Regiments of Marines landed without Opposition.

On the 11th, we got our Tents and Tools ashore, cleared the Ground, and encamped.

All the Artillery and Ordnance Stores were brought ashore by the 15th.

The Admiral having Notice from Brigadier *Wentworth*, that his Men were much galled by the Fire of a *Fascine Battery* from the opposite Side of the Harbour, called the *Barra-dera Side*, sent Boats with a Number of Men. The Boats commanded by Capt. *Watson* of the Admiral's own Ship, with the Captains *Norris* and *Colby* under him; and the Men, when landed, were to be commanded by Capt. *Boscawen*, having under him the Captains, *Latus* and *Cotes*. They landed about a Mile to the Leeward of this *Fascine Battery*, which was of 15 twenty-four Pounders. They happened to land under a small Battery of five Guns, which they knew nothing of; but they leap'd resolutely into the Battery, and surprized the Enemy, so as to receive but little Damage, and secured those Cannon. This gave an Alarm to the Enemy at the other, who had Time to point two of their Guns against us, but with little Effect; and our Men rushing on boldly, made themselves Masters of that as well as of the smaller Battery, and kept Possession of them till they had spiked up all their Guns, tore up and burnt their Platforms with the Carriages, and brought off six wounded Prisoners, with

an inconsiderable Loss on our Side. Which Success was a great Relief to our Troops on the other Shore.

Brigadier *Wentworth* had caused a Battery of Mortars to be raised, which much incommoded the Enemy in the Castle of *Bocacabica*, and on the 22d, a Battery of 20 twenty-four Pounders began to play upon that Castle. The Enemy had in the mean Time been diligently at Work on the first-mentioned *Fascine Battery*, had got two Guns mounted to play from thence, and were working to add more; upon which the Admiral ordered a Ship close under the Shore to rake that Battery.

On the 23d, Commodore *Lestock*, in the *Boyne*, with the *Prince-Frederick*, *Hampton-Court*, *Suffolk*, and *Tilbury*, went in to batter the said Castle, and the Enemy's Ships; but the *Boyne* falling to Leeward, and being open to much of the Enemy's Fire, was called off that Evening; the rest continued there; and the *Princess Amelia* that was fallen further to Leeward than was intended, lay fair to silence the new-mounted Guns on the *Fascine Battery*, and did so accordingly, which was a great Preservative to the Men playing our Battery ashore, and in the Camp, as the Enemy's Shot went over the Hill into the Camp.

On the 24th, our Ships renewed their Fire, but the *Prince Frederick* and *Hampton-Court*, being much gall'd by the Shot from the Enemy's Ships, were call'd off; on which Station his Majesty lost a brave Officer, in Lord *Aubrey Beauclerc*, * Commander of the *Prince Frederick*, who would have been an Honour to his Family and his Country, being of a fe-date as well as a resolute Temper. About Noon the Admiral sent all his Boats again to the Attack of the *Fascine Battery*, where the Enemy had mounted six Guns: But our Men who landed from the Boats having Time and Daylight for it, destroyed the Guns, broke up all their Platforms, set every Thing on Fire, and drew some of our Boats over a Neck of Land, and boarded and burnt a Sloop that lay there to supply that Battery with Ammunition.

A tolerable Breach being made in *Bocacabica*, Brigadier *Wentworth* came off on the 25th, to give the Admiral an Account of his Intentions to assault the Breach an Hour before Night. Upon which the Admiral made the Signal for the Boats again, and sent them in, to make a seasonable Diversion, under the chief Command of his Engineer Captain *Knowles*, who carried with him some Coehorn Mortars and Patareroes, which it was judged might be used against *St. Joseph's Fort*. Captain *Knowles* had with him the Captains *Watson*, *Cotes*, *Dennis*, *Cleland*, and *Broderick*. They got to the *Fascine Battery*, and landed and drew their Men together, before the Time of our Forces marching to the Attack

* He had both his Legs shot off, and died of the Wounds.

of *Bucachica* Castle, which must have contributed to throw the Enemy into some Confusion. Our Grenadiers, at the Time Brigadier *Wentworth* had appointed, moved in very good Order to the Assault, expecting a vigorous Resistance; but to his great Surprize, as soon as our Grenadiers began to mount the Breach, the Enemy fled out of the Castle, without firing one Musket Shot.

Immediately after this, the Enemy began to set fire to one of their Ships, whereupon our Men observing the Confirmation they were in, resolved to row in their Boats close under the Lee Shore, and storm *St. Joseph's* Fort from their Boats, which they did accordingly, and found only three drunken Spaniards there. Flush'd with this Success, and finding the Enemy were upon sinking their other Ships, they rowed up to those Ships, as they were now got within the Boom, and boarded the Admiral Don *Blas's* own Ship the *Galicia*, in which they took Prisoners the Captain of the Ship, the Captain of the Marines, an Ensign, and 60 Men, who not having had Boats to escape in, had delayed sinking of the Ship till they could have got off. This done, our Men went and cut the Boom, to make all clear for us the next Day, leaving Officers and Men on board the *Galicia*, (where they had found both Flag and Colours flying) and an Officer in *St. Joseph's* Fort.

On the 26th, the Admiral hastened into the Harbour to make proper Dispositions, but tho' he had nothing to do but to get in, he found it Matter of Difficulty, especially as the Enemy had sunk the *San Carlos* and *Africa* in the best of the Channel, and the *St. Philip* which they had burnt and blown up, was yet burning on the Lee Shore, so that the Admiral was above three Hours warping thro', after he anchored in the Narrows, before he could get to sail up the Harbour, which he did about two Leagues the same Evening. And our getting in now was the more providential, as we have had very blowing Weather ever since. The same Evening, there got in with the Admiral the *Burford* and *Orford* of his Division.

The 27th, the Admiral gave Orders to Capt. *Griffin* in the *Burford*, with Lord *Augustus Fitzroy* in the *Orford*, to advance as fast as the Wind would let them, for posting themselves across the Harbour, as near as they could just without Gun-shot of *Castillo Grande*, for cutting it off from all Communication by Water as soon as might be; which they could move but slowly in, the Wind blowing right down the Harbour. The same Day the *Worcester* got up to the Admiral, who sent her to anchor close to a Wharf where there was a good Crane, and a Spring of Water, which he thought necessary to secure for the Service of the Fleet. The *Weymouth* with

Capt. *Knowles* getting in the same Afternoon, the Admiral sent him with the *Cruizer Sloop* to destroy the Enemy's Batteries at *Passo Cavallos*, and to seize what Hulks were there, which he executed the 28th, having destroyed two Batteries of eight Guns on each Side the Entrance into *Passo Cavallos*, and rendered those Guns unserviceable, by spiking them up, and knocking off their Trunnions, and brought out four large Hulks that may be very useful to us for our second Descent, and the Watering our Ships.

Sir *Chaloner Ogle* got in with his Ship the 27th at Night, and the 28th work'd up between the Admiral and his two advanced Guards; but there are only got up to him yet of his Division, the *Rippon*, *Jersey*, and the *Experiment*.

The *Torbay* and two Fireships of the Admiral's Division got up to him the 30th in the Morning; as did the Evening of the same Day the *Chichester* of his Division, and two Bomb Ketches.

The Enemy are acting in a Sort of Despondency, having sunk all their Gallies and other Ships across the Mouth of the upper Part of their Harbour above *Castillo Grande*, except the *Conquistador* and *Dragon*, the two remaining Men of War of the King of Spain's, and a Ship wearing French Colours, in order intirely to choke up that Channel into the Harbour.

On the 30th in the Evening, the Admiral ordered his Engineer, Capt. *Knowles*, in the *Weymouth*, to discover what he could of the Enemy: He getting that Night a little above the Admiral's advanced Guards, observed the Enemy were very busy in moving about with 13 Launches, and the next Morning he discovered that they had sunk their two remaining Men of War, the *Conquistador* and *Dragon*, both of 60 Guns, and were removing Things out of *Castillo Grande*; of which he immediately gave Notice to Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, who lay between the Admiral and his advanced Guards, the *Burford* and *Orford*: He ordered Capt. *Knowles* to advance with his Ship, and fire on the Castle, to see if they would return it, which he observing they did not, immediately made the Signal for the Boatsmann'd and arm'd, who row'd up directly to the Castle, and took Possession of it without Opposition. The Admiral has made Capt. *Knowles* Governor of it, he being well qualified to make his Remarks from it, how we may take our Advantages to push on still successfully.

We hope soon to get in all our Bomb-Ketches to play upon the Town, and we shall now be able to land our Forces within a League of the Town, which could not have been done nearer than three Leagues, without our being Masters of *Castillo Grande*.

And now we are in full Possession, we may

may truly say it was as narrow a Channel, as difficult of Access, and as good a Disposition made to defend it, as we can apprehend to be any where in the World; for the Enemy had above 200 Pieces of Cannon, from Forts, Batteries, and Ships, that lay all to play upon any Thing coming in, within the Compass of a Mile round.

The first of April in the Morning, the Admiral got to an Anchor in his own Ship, close by *Castillo Grande*; and is getting some of his Ships at work, to try to heave the Masts out of the sunk Ships, to make a Channel over those sunk in deepest Water, that his Ships may get in to secure a safe Descent to the Army, under the Fire of our Guns; it being resolved in a Council of War to use all possible Expedition to cut off the Communication of the Town on the Land Side, and to make a Descent at the most convenient Place nearest the Town.

Some of our Officers were killed by the Enemy's Cannon, amongst whom are Col. Douglas*, Col. Watson of the Train†, Lieut. Col. Sandford‡, Mr. Moor the chief Engineer, and Lieut. Irwing§.

Since we wrote last from *Jamaica*, Capt. Douglas has taken two Spanish Prizes coming from *St. Jago* for this Port; Capt. Trevor, who was cruising off *Santa Marta*, has taken a Register Ship, and an Aviso, both from *Cadix*, bound to this Port, with Letters of Feb. 2. N.S. And Capt. Mofyn, in the *Deptford*, cruising to the Leeward of this Port, has taken a small Spanish Ship from *Ferrol*, and a Snow from *Porto Bello*, which had been to carry a Battalion from hence thither.

MONDAY, 18.

This Day, when the Action at *Cartagena* was known as a Certainty, there were all the publick Demonstrations of Joy; the Guns at the Tower and from the Shipping in the River were fir'd; the Bells thro' the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and the Suburbs, were rung, and at Night were Bonfires and Illuminations. And these Rejoicings were continued on the next Day, and spread themselves thro' Great Britain and Ireland, as soon as the most agreeable News was receiv'd.

We were informed, that what greatly contributed to the taking of *Bocachica* Castle, the strongest Fort about *Cartagena*, with so inconsiderable a Loss, was, the Conduct and Address made use of in raising the Battery of twenty 24 Pounders against it. There was, it seems, at a proper Distance from the Castle, a little Grove, under the Shelter of which this Battery was erected, without even the Knowledge of the Enemy. As soon as

it was ready to play, the Wood before it was cut down, and the formidable Scene open'd to the great Consternation of the Besieg'd.

To Sir Hugh Smithson, Bart. and William Pulteney, Esq; Knights of the Shire for the County of Middlesex.

WE, your Electors, think it not inconsistent with our just Regard for you and ourselves to offer you the following Instructions at this Time, when we again appoint and constitute you the Guardians of our Liberties and Properties: Not from a Doubt of your not being appriz'd of them, but that all this Kingdom may be convinc'd that our Instructions and your past Conduct, as our Representatives, exactly tally and agree, and that when we instruct you, we, at the same Time, make you our Acknowledgments for your Behaviour in the last Parliament.

Tho' you have by all your Address and Conduct endeavour'd to prevent the Increase of new Powers to the Prerogative, we think it incumbent on us to direct you in a constant Opposition to all standing Armies, but what are absolutely necessary for the Support and Protection of the Honour and Happiness of these Kingdoms; and to prevent, by all legal and justifiable Means, the diverting them from the original, parliamentary End of raising them, too plainly prov'd to be practicable from a shocking Instance at a late Election in this County.

As the Security and Happiness of this Constitution depend on the Preserving the Balance between Prerogative and Privilege, and as several Stratagems may be made use of to raise the one to the Ruin of the other, we think it now our Duty to direct you to continue your constant Attention and Opposition to all Schemes and Attempts destructive of that Balance, by those who shall be malignant enough to set them on foot.

John Waite, one of the Cashiers of the Bank, went off about this Time; and 200 l. Reward was promis'd by the Bank for apprehending and securing him.

Don Blas the Spanish Admiral's Flag, taken from on board the *Galicia*, in the Bay of *Cartagena*, has been brought to *Portsmouth*, and hoisted up there, as a Trophy, in Honour of our late glorious Success. It is near 40 Feet in Length, and the Breadth in Proportion.

MARRIAGES and BIRTHS.

PATRICK Lindsay, Esq; late Member of Parliament for *Edinburgh*, to Lady Katharine Lindsay, Aunt to the Earl of Crawford, and Sister to the Earl of Wigtown.

James

* Who had his Head shot off. † Who was shot in the Thigh, and died of the Wound.
‡ Shot dead in his Tent. §. 400 Men were said to be left in the Whole. — See the Plan of *Cartagena*, and some Account of the Place, in our *Mag.* for April, 1740, p. 194, 195. See also the two Maps in that Volume.

James Kinson, of *Hertford*, Esq; to Miss *Leake*, a rich Heiress.

Edward Stephenson, of *Red Lion-square*, Esq; to Miss *Jennings*, Daughter of Governor *Jennings*.

William Hewett, of *Essex*, Esq; to Miss *Gerbutt*.

Mr. Samuel Gordon, of *Kensington*, an eminent Surgeon, to Miss *Bradford*.

John Jennings, Esq; Son of Sir *John Jennings*, Knt. to Lady *Mary Burk*, Sister to the Earl of *Clanrickard*.

Rev. *Mr. William Bush*, a Dissenting Minister at *Enfield*, to Miss *Elizabeth Bridges*, Daughter of *Brooke Bridges*, Esq; late of *Hatton Garden*.

Mr. Robert Farrington, Merchant, to Miss *Aston*, Daughter of the late Sir *Whitmore Aston*, Bart.

Peter Hammond, Esq; Son of Sir *William Hammond*, of *Carshalton* in *Surrey*, to Miss *Mary Holden*.

Right Hon. the Lord *Orslow*, to Miss *Ellwell*, Daughter of the late Sir *Edmund Ellwell*, Bart.

Right Hon. the Lord *Conway*, to the Lady *Fitzroy*, Daughter to the Duke of *Grafton*.

Fletcher Norton, of the *Middle-Temple*, Esq; to Miss *Grace Chapple*, eldest Daughter of the Hon. *Mr. Justice Chapple*.

Countess of *Antrim* deliver'd of a Daughter.

The Lady of *James West*, Esq; also deliver'd of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

HON. *Thomas Coote*, Esq; a Judge of the King's and Queen's Bench in *Ireland*, in K. *William's* and Q. *Anne's* Reign, a great Improver of the Linen Manufacture, and the oldest Trustee at the Linen Board.

Henry O'Brien, Earl of *Thomond* in *Ireland*, Viscount *Tadcaster* in *England*, Baron of *Ibrican*, the second Peer of *Ireland*, and Lord Lieutenant and Custos Rotulorum of the County of *Essex*.

Thomas Whetbam, Esq; General of Foot, Governor of *Berwick* and of *Holy-Island*, and Col. of a Reg. of Foot.

The Duchess of *Melfort*, Widow, by a former Marriage, of *Henry Fitz-James*, Duke of *Albemarle*, natural Son of K. *James II.* She died at *St. Germain en Lay*.

Dr. *Coatsworth*, an eminent Physician, in an advanc'd Age. His Widow surviv'd him but 24 Hours.

Mr. Neave, an eminent and wealthy Soap-maker in *East-Smithfield*.

Jeremy Pemberton, Esq; Son of Sir *Francis Pemberton*, Lord Chief Justice of *England* in the Reign of K. *Charles II.*

Samuel Clarke, Esq; an eminent *Turky Merchant*, at his House in *Charter-house-square*.

Seignior Como, an *Italian Gentleman*, who

1741

of late was entrusted with the Affairs of *Don Carlos*, his *Sicilian Majesty*, at the Court of *Great Britain*.

James Butler, Esq; who was lately chosen one of the Knights of the Shire for *Suffex*.

Major General *Orfeur*, a brave Officer, who had a considerable Command in the famous Expedition at *Vigo*.

Hugh Lord Viscount Primrose, a Peer of *Scotland*, and Lieut. Col. of a Reg. on the *Irish Establishment*.

Lord *Visc. Downe*, of the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

Mr. John Gregory, Plaisterer to the *Charter-House*, *Bridge-Yard*, *Christ's-Hospital*, and other publick Buildings, esteem'd one of the most considerable Persons in that Business.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

PHILIP *Rideout*, M. A. had a Dispensation to hold the Vicarage of *Taverne-Minster*, with the Chapels thereto belonging, in the County of *Dorset* and Diocese of *Bristol*, together with the Rectory of *Farnham*, in the same County and Diocese.

Brian Cole, B. A. presented to the Rectory of *Ludlow*, in the County of *Salop* and Diocese of *Hereford*.

Mr. John Whicbroke, to the Rectory of *Althoys* of the Isle of *Maxbolme*, in the Deanery of *Manley* in the County and Diocese of *Lincoln*.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

JOHN *Sigismund Tanner*, Esq; made chief Engraver of his Majesty's Mint, in the Room of *John Croker*, Esq; deceas'd.—*John Harris*, Esq; made Master of the Household to his Majesty, in the Room of *George Treby*, Esq; appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury.—The Lord *Glenoreby*, and *Edward Thompson*, Esq; made Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Lyttleton*, Bart. and *Thomas Clutterbuck*, Esq;—*Thomas Winnington*, Esq; made Cofferer of his Majesty's Household.—The Lord Viscount *Duplin*, and Sir *William Corbet*, Bart. made Commissioners of the Revenues in *Ireland*.—*Thomas Tresusis*, Esq; made a Commissioner for Victualling his Majesty's Navy.—Sir *Robert Brown*, Bart. made Paymaster of his Majesty's Board of Works, in the Room of *John Harris*, Esq;—Hon. *William Stanhope*, Esq; eldest Son to the Right Hon. the Lord *Harrington*, made Capt. Lieut. of the third Reg. of Foot Guards.—*Thomas Smith*, Esq; Commander of the *Romney*, made Governor of *Newfoundland*.—*Andrew Wilkinson*, Esq; made Clerk of the Delivery to the Office of Ordnance.—*Henry Bromley*, Esq; created a Baron of *Great Britain*, by the Name, Style and Title of *Henry Lord Montfort*, Baron of *Horsebeath* in the County of *Cambridge*.—*Stephen*

M m

Fox,

Fox, Esq; a Baron of Great Britain, by the Name, Stile and Title of Stephen Lord Hebefter, Baron of Woodford Strangways in the County of Dorset.—John Howe, Esq; a Baron of Great Britain, by the Name, Stile and Title of John Lord Chedworth, Baron of Chedworth in the County of Gloucester.—Benjamin Earl Fitzwalter made Lord Lieutenant of the County of Essex.—William Shirley, Esq; made Governor of New England, in the Room of Jonathan Belcher, Esq;—Tho. Morgan, Esq; made Advocate General or Judge Martial of his Majesty's Forces.—Hon. George Clinton, Esq; Uncle to the Earl of Lincoln, made Governor of New York.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

FRAN. Burrows, of Farnham in Surrey, Maltster.—Eliz. Bentley, of the Strand, Widow, Vintner.—Fran. Henshaw, of Hatfield in Hertfordshire, Innholder.—Tho. Willes, of Thames-street, Vintner.—Edw. Danford, late of Minchin-Hampton in Gloucestershire, Chandler, Mercer and Grocer.—John Jones, late of Reading, Innholder.—John Rawald, of Preston, Grocer.—Anne Wright, of St. Andrew's, Holborn, Widow, Linendraper.—Francis-Will. Massey, of Warwick-Lane, Apothecary.—Benj. Dobbins the Elder, of Mangotsfield, Gloucestershire, Waggoner.—John Sartin, ibid. Waggoner.—John Harper, of Bristol, Innholder.—John Addy, of Ave-Mary-Lane, Bookbinder.—John Poole, of Whitechapel, Cheesemonger.—James Smith, late of St. George's, Hanover-square, Upholsterer.—John Spooner, late of Oxford Road, Chapman and Coachman.—Tho. Loversage, late of Sanbach, Cheshire, Grocer.—John Weeden, of East-Greenwich, Kent, Carpenter.—John Schaak, late of Wandsworth, Refiner.—Richard Tipping, of St. George's, Hanover-square, Brickmaker and Victualler.—Thomas West, late of Reading, Butcher.—John Atkinson, of Bradford, Yorkshire, Butcher.—Benj. Horsfall, late of Huddersfield, ibid. Salter.—Geo. Comer the Younger, late of London-Bridge, and now of Gracechurch-street, Haberdasher.—Ste. Masterman the Younger, late of Shoe-Lane, Brewer.—Walter Tarran, of York, Haberdasher of Hats and Leather-seller.—Will. Holme, late of Stockport, Cheshire, Mercer.—William Gordon, of Thames-street, Soapmaker.—John Rivers, of St. Luke's, Middlesex, Clothworker.—Aug. Morris, late of Tower street, Cooper.—John Bennett, of St. Olave, Southwark, Woolstapler.—John Billingfley, late of Hampstead, Dealer in Hops.—Tho. Townton, of St. James's, Clerkenwell, Victualler.—Bernard Anney, of Bristol, Merchant.—John Wray, late of Kingston upon Hull, Innholder.—Rob. Parker, late of Rosemary-Lane, Rag-Merchant.—Jacob Bueno de Mesquita, of London, Merchant.—Rob. Taylor, of Fish street-bill, Innholder.—Richard

Graves, of Old Gravel-Lane, Middlesex, Dealer.—Rich. Fisher, of Southwark, Distiller.—John Simons, late of Kenn, Devon, Maltster.—Rob. Leemin, of St. Martin's in the Fields, Cabinet-maker.—Jonathan Heard, late of Exon, Haberdasher of Small Wares.—Richard Rooke, late of Staindrop, Durham, Hop Merchant.—Edward Roberts, of the Bank-side, Southwark, Lighterman and Dealer in Coals.—Will. Payce, of West-Smithfield, Dealer in Teas.—Will. Magson the Elder, late of New Brentford, Baker.—Thomas Fayram, of St. George's, Hanover-square, Mason.—John Leeke, of Holborn, Haberdasher of Hats.—Sam. Langdon, late of Minehead, Shopkeeper.—Abra. Felsed, of Bishopsgate-street, Dealer in Yarn.—John Ceney, late of Fulham, Gardener and Seedsmen.—Eliz. Coombes, of Bruton, Somersetshire, Widow, Grocer and Mercer.—James Morren, late of Bristol, Bodice-maker.—John Hume, of St. John's, Southwark, Cornfactor.—Andrew Ward, of Leadenhall-street, Cheesemonger and Coal-dealer.—John Pierce, of Canterbury, Salesman.—Christopher Cooke, late of York, Haberdasher of Small Wares.—Anne, John and Samuel Beale, of Wribbenhall, in the Parish of Kidderminster, Merchants and Copartners.—Thomas Doe, of Milton in Kent, Salesman and Draper.—Fra. Wood, of St. Mary's, Whitechapel, Victualler and Chandler.—Chas. Bowler, of Lombard-street, Merchant.

Abstract of the London WEEKLY BILL, from April 21. to May 26.

Christned	{ Males 805 }	{ Females 763 }	1568
Buried	{ Males 1350 }	{ Females 1527 }	2877
Died under 2 Years old			896
Between 2 and 5			181
5		10	102
10		20	103
20		30	276
30		40	319
40		50	344
50		60	247
60		70	168
70		80	153
80		90	76
90 and upwards			12
			2877

Hay 69 to 72s. a Load.

AFTER

AFTER the Battle of *Molwitz*, which we gave an Account of in our last, the *Austrian* Army retir'd over the *Neiss*, and encamped on the South-Side of that River, to wait for the Reinforcements they were expecting from *Hungary* and the other *Austrian* Dominions. On the other hand, the *Prussians* retook *Grotkau*, *Loewen*, and the other Places from whence they had withdrawn their Troops, in order to reinforce their Army before the Battle; and on the 20th of *April*, the *Prussians*, with a Part of their Army invested *Brieg*, whilst the King himself, with the rest of his Army incamped at *Oblau*, in order to cover the Siege, and to observe the Motions of the *Austrians*. Tho' the Place was well fortified, and provided with a numerous Garison, yet the Siege was carried on so briskly, that on the 4th of this Month, N. S. it was surrendered by Capitulation, the Substance of which was, That the Garison consisting of four Battalions, three Companies of Grenadiers, and an independent Company of 300 Men, should march out the 5th, with all the Honours of War, and their Arms and Baggage; that they should march the shortest Rout to *Neiss*; that they should not bear Arms against his *Prussian* Majesty, for the Space of two Years in any Country whatsoever, and never in *Silesia*; and that they should be furnished with Bread for four Days, besides a sufficient Number of Horses and Boats, to carry their Sick and Wounded, as well as their Baggage.

After the Surrender of this Place, his Majesty sent a Body of his Forces to the other Side of the *Oder*, with a View, as 'twas said, to take *Oppelen*, and some neighbouring Places, whilst another Detachment marched with the like Design towards *Schweidnitz*. Yet notwithstanding this, he has, we are told, declar'd, That he will agree to a Suspension of Arms, as soon as the Queen of *Hungary* has appointed her Plenipotentiaries to repair to any Place in *Silesia* which she shall nominate, there to treat of a Peace.

If his having published such a Declaration be true, the Court of *Vienna* must be insatuated not to accept of it; and yet by our last Accounts from *Silesia*, it would seem they have not; for according to them, the *Prussian* Army was in full March towards the *Austrian*; and Count *Neuperg*, upon Advice of their March, had distributed the Field Artillery to the several Brigades of his Army, and was preparing for a second Battle.

As the *Swedes* seem bent upon a War with *Russia*, a Resolution was lately passed unanimously in the Diet of that Kingdom, to reinforce their Army in *Finland* with 7000 Men; which Reinforcement sailed from *Carelskron* and *Robbelslagen* on the 25th past, O. S. under the Convoy of four Men of War. On the other Side, the *Muscovites* are preparing for their Defence, by augmenting

their Troops, repairing the fortified Places, and filling the Magazines in all the conquered Provinces; and probably would be more than a Match for the *Swedes*; but they seem to be in some Danger of an Attack at the same Time from the *Turks*; for the *Tartars* have already begun to make some Inroads upon their Southern Territories; in which Case they will stand in Need of some Assistance, and may probably meet with it, from their old Friend *Kouli-Kan*; whose Ambassador lately arrived at *Constantinople*, and according to our last Accounts, behaves in a most haughty, provoking Manner.

Letters from several Parts of *Germany* say, That a Treaty of Alliance is on the Point of being concluded between the Emperor of *Russia*, the King of *Poland*, the Queen of *Hungary*, and his Britannick Majesty, for supporting the Interests of the House of *Austria*; and Letters from *Italy* say, that the old Alliance is upon the Point of being renewed, between the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sardinia*, which, we may suppose, is not for supporting the Interests of the House of *Austria*. This Article seems to be confirmed by our last Advices from *France* and *Spain*, which say, that his Most Christian Majesty has issued Orders for augmenting his Grenadiers with 15, and the rest of his Foot with 10 Men a Company; and that they talk at *Paris* of a second Augmentation to be speedily ordered, of 5 Men more to every Company, which will be an Augmentation of upwards of 45,000 Men, to the Infantry alone. And those from *Spain* say, that the Transports have set sail from *Barcelona* for *Majorca*, in order to embark the Troops and Artillery in that Island; and that some of their Troops designed to march through *France*, are already arrived upon the Frontiers between the two Kingdoms.

These are Omens of War, but we have likewise Omens of Peace; for it is said, that the Marshal de Belisle, the French Minister in *Germany*, as also the Count de Montijo, the Spanish Minister there, are both to repair to *Hanover*; so that in all Appearance, we shall have either a general War in *Europe*, or a new *Hanover* Treaty, before his Majesty's Return to his British Dominions.

Among other Advices from *Spain*, we had lately one which is diverting: They say, that in a Council of War held there, M. Campillo, their chief Minister, observed, that by all their Advices it did not appear, that the Fleets under the Admirals *Vernon* and *Ogle*, would make above 60 Sail when united; that his Catholick Majesty's four Squadrons in *America* made just the same Number of Men of War, besides 20 Frigates, &c. and that therefore they need not be apprehensive that the Return of the French Fleet would prevent their 4 Squadrons from being able to act upon the Defensive.

ENTER-

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